
THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
F R A N C E.

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,
FROM THE
FIRST ESTABLISHMENT
OF THAT
MONARCHY:
INCLUDING AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PRESENT REVOLUTION.

BY THE REV. J. ADAMS, A. M.

Res gestæ regumque ducumque, & tristia Bella. Hor.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

THE affairs of France are at this æra important to all Europe. The revolution in America, in which the revolution of France generated, has already made material alterations, not only in the political but commercial world, and that of France cannot produce effects of less serious consequence to mankind. The knowledge of the history of that country, therefore, becomes an object not only of curiosity but of utility. Though the volumes now submitted to the judgment of the public comprise the principal events of a great kingdom during a space of more than twelve centuries, yet the author hopes no matter worthy observation has been omitted. The difficulties that have occurred in comprising the work probably may entitle it to the candour of the reader; but the author would be inexcusable did he not devote a moment to acknowledge the different authorities on which the work is founded.

In French he has diligently consulted the Histories of Daniel, Mezeray, and Henault; the Memoirs of Sully and De Retz; the Histories of Lewis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, by Voltaire; and *that invaluable work* Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.

In English he is principally indebted to Wraxall's Memoirs of the Race of Valois, Dr. Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, Watson's History of Philip the Second, and Hume's History of England; nor would he wish to conceal that in some few instances, where he found it necessary to convey the exact sense of these writers, he should have thought it presumption to have altered their language.

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T H E

C O N T E N T S

Page 1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general survey of the state of the country at the present time. It is a most interesting and valuable paper, and one which every citizen should read.

C O N T E N T S

Page 2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed account of the various measures which have been adopted by the government for the improvement of the country. It is a most interesting and valuable paper, and one which every citizen should read.

THE
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OF
FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

Origin and first Expeditions of the Franks. — Reign of Clovis ; — His Victories over the Romans, the Alemanni, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths ; — His Conversion to the Christian Faith ; — Division of his Empire between his Sons Thierri, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire. — Succession and Extinction of the Merovingian Race.

WHILE the Roman Empire, under the joint government of Valerian and Gallienus, was attacked on every side by the blind fury of foreign invaders, the name and warlike spirit of the Franks were first revealed to the astonished and trembling natives of Spain and Africa. The origin of these martial barbarians, whose posterity compose one of the most powerful and enlightened monarchies of Europe, has employed every effort of learning and ingenuity ; Panonia, Gaul, and the northern parts of Germany, have successively claimed and been allowed the honour of their birth : But these discordant conjectures are rejected by the more rational critics ; and it is now generally supposed, that about

A. D. 240. the two hundred and fortieth year of the christian æra, under the reign of the emperor Gordian, a confederacy was formed by the inhabitants of the lower Rhine and the Wefer: These assumed the honourable name of FRANKS or FREEMEN; and the laws of their union, which at first were dictated by mutual advantage, were confirmed by gradual experience.

The Rhine, the boasted safeguard of the Roman provinces, proved but a feeble barrier against these enterprising confederates; the devastations of the Franks stretched from the river to the foot of the Pyrenees; their army penetrated through the passes of those difficult mountains; and Tarragona, the capital of a peaceful province, was sacked and almost destroyed by their rapacious fury. For twelve years, while the imperial sceptre was feebly swayed by Gallienus, Spain was the theatre of their destructive hostilities; the ports of the exhausted country supplied them with vessels to transport themselves into Mauritania; and Africa beheld with terror and astonishment the manners and habits, the complexion and ferocious courage, of these new invaders.

In the reign of Probus, the Franks were compelled by the victorious arms of that monarch to repass the Rhine, and shelter themselves in the flat maritime country which they already occupied, intersected and overflowed by the stagnating waters of the redundant river; but a colony established by the emperor on the sea-coast of Pontus, animated by their unconquerable love of freedom, seized a fleet stationed in the harbours of the Euxine, and resolved to explore their way from the mouth of the Phasis to that of the Rhine. They escaped through the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and spread their depredations along the coasts of the Mediterranean; the defenceless and unsuspecting shores

shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa were afflicted by their frequent descents ; the city of Syracuse was surprised, her treasures rifled, and her inhabitants massacred. Thence directing their course to the columns of Hercules, they committed themselves to the wide expanse of the ocean ; and steering through the British channel, landed triumphant on the Batavian or Frisian shores.

During a long period of barbaric darkness the Franks are concealed from our view ; but they emerged again when the throne of Valentinian the Third was shaken by the Scythian torrent, and Attila poured on the empire the tempest of his arms. The Franks, who had already established the right of hereditary succession in the Merovingian race, eagerly seized the favourable moment of enterprise, and embraced the opportunity of extending the limits of their monarchy, still confined to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Dispargum, a village between Louvain and Brussels, was the residence of Clodion, the first of their kings mentioned in authentic history : Informed by his spies of the defenceless state of the adjacent country, he pressed through that part of the forest of Ardennes between the A. D. 440. Scheld and the Meuse, occupied the cities of Tournay and Cambray, and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme. Though surprised and routed by the Roman general Ætius, he soon retrieved his strength and reputation, and maintained the possession of his new acquisitions. But his death exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons ; and while the elder sought the formidable alliance of Attila, the Scythian monarch, the younger implored and obtained the protection of the court of Rome.

The western empire of Rome, separated from that of the east, already rapidly verged towards its dissolution ; and the authority of Odoacer, a barbarian mercenary,

mercenary, was extinguished by the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, when the kindred tribes of the Franks seated along the Scheld and the Meuse, the Moselle and the Rhine, were attracted by the superior merit of Clovis, who had succeeded to the command of the Salic tribe by the death of his father Childeric. The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras; but his martial bands were swelled by the voluntary allegiance of his countrymen, and his victorious banner was followed by the warriors who, though governed by the independent kings of the Merovingian race, were free to share the fortunes of a popular and successful general.

Ægidius, a noble Roman and the master-general of Gaul, had established an independent sovereignty beyond the Alps. When the Franks were dissatisfied with the youthful follies of Childeric their king, they entrusted the sceptre to the hand of the Roman general; but as soon as the fickle barbarians repented of their injury to the Merovingian race, the restoration of the lawful prince was prudently acquiesced in by the moderation of Ægidius; Syagrius, his son, with the authority at least, if not with the title of king, possessed the city and diocese of Soissons, with Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens. The glory of the father, with the power of the son, excited the jealousy and ambition of Clovis; and Syagrius accepted the hostile defiance of his rival, and appointed the day and the field of battle. The Roman chief, with his disorderly multitude, was vanquished by the intrepid Franks at Nogent, about ten miles from Soissons: The unfortunate Ægidius in vain escaped to the distant court of Thoulouse, he was surrendered to the menaces of the victor; the Belgic cities, Soissons, Rheims, Provence, Sens, Troyes, and Auxerre, opened their gates to the triumphant

umphant Clovis, whose dominions toward the east were enlarged by the diocese of Tongres, a conquest which he achieved in the tenth year of his reign. A. D. 491.

The Alemanni had spread themselves in Gaul over the modern provinces of Lorrain and Alsace, and their invasion of the kingdom of Cologne summoned Clovis to the defence of his kinsman and ally. In the plains of Tolbiac, twenty-four miles from the city of Cologne, the two armies A. D. 495. encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animosity. In the first onset the ranks of the Franks were broken, and the shouts of the Alemanni proclaimed their hopes of victory: But the battle was restored by the skill and example of Clovis; the Franks returned to the charge, and their transient disgrace was effaced by a cruel slaughter. The Alemanni in vain endeavoured to shelter themselves in the deep recesses of their forests; their king, the last who could boast that title, perished in the field, and his subjects were preserved only by the moderation of the conqueror, who condescended to accept their submission, and permitted them, while they acknowledged his sovereignty, to retain their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and at length, hereditary dukes.

Clovis had been early educated, and persevered until the thirtieth year of his age, in the errors of paganism: But although he had hitherto rejected or disregarded the evidence of christianity, his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free and uncontrolled exercise of their religious worship. He had espoused in the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, a zealous catholic; and the influence of the queen was incessantly directed towards the conversion of her husband. Some superstitious fears were excited in Clovis by the death of their infant son, who had been purified in the fount of baptism; but he was persuaded

persuaded to renew the sacred experiment ; and in the battle of Tolbiac, when the broken ranks of the Franks were pressed by the Alemanni, Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda and of the christians : His decisive victory contributed to confirm his wavering mind ; he listened respectfully to the holy eloquence of Remigius, the bishop of Rheims, and declared himself fully satisfied of the truth of the catholic faith. Political reasons might suspend for some time his public avowal, but in the

A. D. 496. sixteenth year of his reign the important ceremony of his baptism was performed with solemn magnificence in the cathedral of Rheims ; and on the same day three thousand of his obedient subjects imitated the devout example of their sovereign. The mind of Clovis had been affected by the pathetic tale of the Passion and the Death of Christ ; and insensible of the beneficial consequences of the mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed, with religious fervour, " Had I been present with my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries." But though he publicly professed to acknowledge the truth of the gospel, the divine precepts which it inculcated were but little respected by the aspiring barbarian ; after dismissing a Synod of the Gallican church, he calmly assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian race ; and the only monarch in the christian world free from the stain or imputation of heresy, was perpetually employed in the aggrandizement of his dominions by the violation of every moral and religious duty.

The conquests of Clovis were equally atchieved by his head and hand, and even his conversion contributed to promote his ambition. The independent cities of Gaul were influenced by their prelates to acknowledge the jurisdiction of a catholic king ; the Armorican provinces, (a name which comprehended the maritime country of Gaul, between the Seine and

and the Loire) abandoned by the Romans, had united for their defence, and under the form of a free government had endeavoured to repel the desultory descents of the northern pirates. Though the instable foundation of their republic had been repeatedly shaken, yet they guarded with vigilance their domestic freedom, and asserted the dignity of the Roman name. The valour they had displayed in repelling the attacks of Clovis, excited the esteem of that martial monarch, and their successful opposition produced an honourable union; they accepted without reluctance the generous capitulation of a catholic hero, and the power and strength A. D. 497. of the son of Childeric were increased to a formidable height by these voluntary accessions; but the reduction of the northern provinces of Gaul was the gradual operation of war and negotiation; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition by the united efforts of force and art.

The kingdom of the Burgundians extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and the sea of Marseilles. Gondebaud, the uncle of Clotilda, who held the sceptre, to secure his throne from domestic contention, had sacrificed the lives of two of his brothers, one of whom was the father of the queen of the Franks; a third brother, Godegesil, had been spared by his policy or humanity, and was suffered to possess the dependent principality of Geneva. The faith of Gondebaud was stained with Arianism, but his subjects were strongly inclined to the orthodox religion; and his brother Godegesil conspired with Clovis, who was stimulated by inordinate ambition, holy zeal, and a desire to revenge the murder of the father of Clotilda. In a battle fought between Langres and Dijon, Gondebaud, deserted by A. D. 500. Godegesil, was forced to yield to the treachery of his brother and the irresistible valour of the Franks; he abandoned to the pursuit of Clovis the important

important cities of Lyons and Vienne, and fled with precipitation to Avignon : The impetuous ardour of the victor was checked by the siege of that city ; the vigour and resolution of Gondebaud induced the son of Childeric to listen to terms of accommodation ; a certain annual tribute was stipulated ; a considerable sum of money was immediately distributed to satisfy the demands of the Franks ; and Godegesil was confirmed in the possession of Vienne, and several other places which he had occupied during the course of the war.

The army of Clovis had scarce retired from the territories of Gondebaud, before that monarch prepared to efface his disgrace, and avenge the treason of his brother. He assembled with diligence an army at Lyons, and advanced with rapidity towards Vienne, which was garrisoned by five thousand Franks, commanded by Godegesil in person. The secret passage of an aqueduct was revealed to Gondebaud by a perfidious citizen ; in the silent hour of night, a chosen band entered the subterraneous channel ; they instantly seized the most important posts ; the gates were thrown open to their companions ; the Franks who escaped the sword, were sent prisoners to the king of the Visigoths ; and by the death of Godegesil, the king of Burgundy a third time, in the same city, stained his hands with fraternal blood.

The capture of Vienne was followed by the submission of the other cities which had been occupied by Godegesil ; the inhabitants acknowledged the authority, and implored the clemency of their lawful sovereign, who declared to Clovis that he must no longer expect that tribute he had presumed to extort. Although the pride of the king of the Franks must have been sensibly wounded by this declaration, though he could not be indifferent to the fate of his subjects and the death of his ally, yet the conqueror
of

of Gaul dissembled the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance and military service of the king of Burgundy.

The kingdom of the Visigoths, established by the great Alaric in the southern provinces of Gaul, had, during the reign of Theodoric his son, acquired strength and maturity; after the death of Theodoric, who fell in the battle of Chalons defending the Roman empire against the invasion A. D. 452 of Attila the king of the Huns, his sceptre passed to his eldest son, Torrismond, who was assassinated by his brother Theodoric the second; that prince experienced the same fate from Euric, a third brother; and the ambition of Euric aspired to extinguish the Roman authority in Spain and Gaul. After reducing in the former province the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, and penetrating into the heart of Lusitania, he passed the Pyrenees; from those mountains, with the exception of Berry and Auvergne, he extended his conquests to the Rhone and the Loire. His premature death delivered the neighbouring barbarians from the dread of his growing power; his throne was inadequately filled by the feeble youth of his son Alaric; and the long peace which had enervated the martial spirit of the Visigoths, the inexperience of their sovereign, and the implacable zeal of orthodoxy, prompted Clovis to invade the peaceful and Arian kingdom of Alaric.

In the city of Paris, which he already considered as the royal seat of government, the king of the Franks proposed to his nobles and warriors the Gothic expedition. "It is with concern," said he, "I suffer the Arians to possess the most fertile part of Gaul; let us, with the aid of god, march against them, and having conquered them, annex their kingdom to our dominions." The Franks applauded the religious ardour of their sovereign; and Clovis,

Clovis, in conformity with the piety of the age, having vowed to erect a church in honour of the holy apostles, prepared to march against a prince, whose friendship he had recently cultivated by the most solemn professions of regard.

Although Alaric was destitute of military experience, in personal courage he was not inferior to his aspiring rival: The Visigoths, long disused to war, once more resumed their arms, and crowded round the standard of their youthful king; but their presumptuous valour was unequally opposed to the discipline and veteran intrepidity of the Franks. In the decisive battle fought on the banks of the Clain, A. D. 507. about ten miles to the south of Poitiers, the Goths were totally routed, and pursued with a cruel slaughter. Alaric, disdaining to fly, rushed against his royal antagonist, and obtained an honourable death from the hand of Clovis. An infant son, a bastard competitor, factious nobles, and a disloyal people, facilitated the progress of the victor. Aquitaine readily submitted; and the king of the Franks, without further opposition, established his winter quarters at Bourdeaux.

In the ensuing spring, Thoulouse surrendered; the royal treasures of that capital were transported to Paris; and the walls of Angoulême fell before the fortune of the conqueror. But the rapid career of Clovis was checked by the policy and power of Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths; that prince, with the concurrence of the Roman emperor of the east, had delivered Italy from the usurpation of Odoacer the Mercenary, and established in it the seat of his own independent sovereignty. The monarch of Italy had espoused Albofleda, the sister of Clovis, and had also bestowed his daughter in marriage on the late king of the Visigoths. He had in vain endeavoured to maintain, by mediation, the tranquillity of Gaul; and early
educated

educated in the profession of Arianism, he was influenced by religious as well as political motives, to oppose the ambition of Clovis, and to preserve the remaining possessions of the kindred Visigoths. He declared himself the protector and guardian of the infant son of Alaric; and Clovis, who had formed the siege of Arles, was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and was forced to retreat with disgrace before the general of the great Theodoric: Yet the Franks still retained the greatest part of their late acquisitions; and the ample province of Aquitaine, from the Pyrenees to the Loire, was indissolubly annexed to the French monarchy.

The honours of the Roman consulship, which had been conferred on the king of Italy by Zeno, the emperor of the east, was by his successor Anastasius, bestowed on the king of the Franks. Amidst the shouts of the joyful multitude, who incessantly repeated the acclamations of consul and Augustus, Clovis entered the cathedral of Tours, after being invested in the church of St. Martin A. D. 509. with a purple tunic and mantle. By these honorary distinctions the actual authority of the monarch of Gaul was not augmented; but the Romans were disposed to revere in the person of their master the consular title, and the emperors by these marks of friendship and alliance, tacitly ratified the conquests of the son of Childeric.

The ties of consanguinity, the precepts of the pure religion he had so lately professed, were not sufficient to restrain the ambition of Clovis; his throne was cemented by the blood of his kinsmen, A. D. 510. the Merovingian princes. Among other victims to his insatiate thirst of power, we discern Sigibert, the king of Cologne, with his son Clodoric; Cararic, whose dominions are not precisely ascertained; Ranacaire, who reigned over the diocese of Cambray; and Renomer, whose independent authority

thority was acknowledged by the territory of Maine : Yet these cruelties were in the eyes of the clergy expiated by his holy ardour in the cause of christianity ; and a barbarous age was eager to admire and applaud the orthodox zeal and liberal piety of the son of Childeric.

In the last year of the reign of Clovis he reformed and published the Salic laws ; a few lines of these, which debar women from inheriting any part of the Salic lands, have been applied as precluding females from the succession to the crown of France ; and the origin and nature of these laws have perplexed and exercised the ingenuity of our most learned and sagacious critics. The promulgation of this artless system of jurisprudence was soon after followed by the death of the monarch himself, A. D. 511. who expired at Paris in the forty-fifth year of his age and thirtieth year of his reign. Among his contemporaries, the valour and victories of Clovis certainly allowed him to claim the foremost rank ; but his valour was stained with cruelty, and his victories obscured by injustice. In the invasion of the Burgundians and Visigoths, the most partial historians have described him as the aggressor ; and though in the battle of Tolbiac his sword was drawn against the Almanni in the defence of his ally and kinsman Sigebert, yet he soon after hesitated not to secure his throne by the death of that very ally in whose cause he had triumphed. His ruling passion was to render himself absolute monarch of all Gaul ; and he may be considered as more fortunate in the execution of his designs than justifiable in the means he employed. In private life, after his conversion to christianity, he was chaste and temperate ; nor does it appear that the husband of Clotilda ever violated the purity of the marriage-bed.

The conduct and character of the founder of the French monarchy, naturally excite our curiosity and enquiries ;

enquiries ; but it is not consistent with the limits of this work to bestow an equal degree of attention on his immediate successors. His dominions were divided between four sons ; Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, the children of Clotilda, reigned with independent authority over Orleans, Paris, and Soissons ; and Thierri, the illegitimate offspring of Clovis before his marriage, possessed the greatest part of Aquitaine, and erecting a new kingdom under the name of Austrasia, fixed the seat of his government at Metz.

The sons of Clotilda were prompted by ambition, and the reproaches of their implacable mother, desirous of avenging the death of her father on the family of the assassin, to invade the kingdom of Burgundy. Gondebaud was no more ; and his son and successor, Sigismund, was stained with the blood of an infant child, whom he inhumanly sacrificed to the pride and resentment of a step-mother. The Burgundian monarch, who had too late discovered his error, was aroused from the prostrate posture of penitence, to defend his crown and life against the rapacious invaders of his country : His efforts were in vain ; he was defeated in a A. D. 523. decisive battle, deserted by his subjects, and, with his wife and two of his children, was buried alive in a deep well, by the stern command of the sons of Clovis. His brother Godemar still maintained the war ; but his forces, in a second battle, were routed by Clodomir : yet the victory proved fatal to the victor ; and Clodomir, entangled in the A. D. 524. pursuit, was in the moment of triumph surrounded and slain. Of his two sons, the elder was afterwards massacred, and the younger was immured in a convent by the boundless ambition of their uncles.

The arms of Childebert and Clotaire atchieved the final conquests of Burgundy ; overwhelmed the remaining

maining possessions of the Visigoths, whose youthful king, Amalaric, sunk into the grave; and divided

A. D. the dominions of their late brother Clodo-
544, 558. mir. But an alliance founded in guilt was not likely to be of long duration; their friendship was soon interrupted by mutual complaints, and at length gave way to open hostilities. A temporary reconciliation was with difficulty effected; and the natural death of Childebert preserved Clotaire from the commission of a crime which he had long contemplated, if not with pleasure, at least without horror.

During these various transactions, Thierri, the king of Austrasia, acquired by arms the possession of Thuringia, and bequeathed it with the rest of his dominions to his son Theodebert, who reduced under his authority Auvergne, resisted the ambitious enterprises of his uncles Childebert and Clotaire, and invaded with impartial rapacity the Italian terri-

A. D. tories of the Romans and the Ostrogoths.
511, 553. His premature death placed the Austrasian sceptre in the hands of his natural son Theodebalde; and on the demise of that prince, his subjects consented to acknowledge as their sovereign Clotaire, who by the subsequent decease of Childebert united the dominions of Clovis under his sole government.

Clotaire had scarce time to taste the joys of undivided empire before he was summoned by death, to account for the means by which he had acquired it; and his four sons immediately divided the kingdom which he had cemented at the expence of so much blood. Paris fell by lot to Caribert: Orleans and

A. D. Burgundy to Gontran; Austrasia to Sige-
562, 613. bert; and Soissons to Childebert. The death of Caribert once more kindled the flames of discord among the Merovingian princes; and a feeble compromise, which divided the city of Paris into three

three parts, and confined each prince to his separate district, was not likely to extinguish the glowing embers. It is unnecessary to disgust the reader with the uninteresting series of fraternal discord, or the immortal hatred of Brunchant, the wife of Sigebert, and Fredegonde, first the concubine and afterwards the consort of Chilperic. During successive years open violence and secret intrigue, the sword and the dagger alternately interrupted the tranquillity of the subject, and assailed the life of the sovereign. Sigebert was assassinated at the instigation of Chilperic; and that prince himself was afterwards doomed to experience the same perfidy as he had practised against his brother. His son, Clotaire the Second, then only four months old, was protected in the possession of Soissons by his uncle Gontran, the king of Burgundy, against Childebert, the son and successor of Sigebert of Austrasia. The death of Gontran devolved his dominions on the Austrasian monarch, who in vain renewed his attempts on the youthful king of Soissons; and expiring soon after, left his kingdom and his two infant sons the victims of their own ambition, and of the artifices of the very prince whom he himself had endeavoured to oppress.

The different provinces of Gaul again obeyed the authority of a single master, and the sole power which had been possessed by Clotaire the First was revived in his grandson, Clotaire the Second, who during fifteen years held the reins of government with a steady hand, and chastised, in a signal victory, the insolence of the Saxons. On his death, his eldest son, Dagobert, who had already received from his father the crown of Austrasia, succeeded to the kingdoms of Neustria, (which comprised the country between the Meuse and the Loire) and Burgundy: To his younger brother, Caribert, he assigned a part of Aquitaine, with

with the royal city of Thoulouse. The decease of Caribert, who enjoyed his transient sovereignty but three years, was followed in a few days by that of his son Chilperic, who was supposed to fall a victim to the ambition of his uncle : and Aquitaine again was annexed to the crown of France, and to the dominions of Dagobert. An unsuccessful war with the Sclavonians induced this monarch to resign the sceptre of Austrasia to his eldest son, Sigebert ; and the death of the former, after a reign of ten years, confirmed Sigebert in the possession of Austrasia, and devolved on him the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy.

From this period, the reign of the Merovingian princes was over-shadowed by the power of their subjects, the Mayors of the palace : In Austrasia, the names of Sigebert, Dagobert, Childebert, and Childeric, successively, but darkly, mark the administrations of Pepin and his son Grimoalde : In Neustria and Burgundy, Clovis the Second, and Clotaire the Third, were obscured by the authority of Archaubaud and Ebroin. After a discordant æra of internal revolutions, Austrasia was re-united to Neustria and Burgundy, under the sole name of A. D. 673. Thierry, the son of Clotaire the Third ; but the government was entirely entrusted to Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, whose boundless ambition and bloody tyranny provoked the revolt of the nobility of Austrasia : These elected as their independent dukes Martin and Pepin, already united by the ties of blood. The forces of the confederates were defeated by Ebroin ; and Martin, who had surrendered the city of Laon on a promise of safety, was beheaded by the perfidious mayor. But Pepin had employed each moment of the siege in recruiting his shattered forces ; and the assassination of A. D. 688. Ebroin, by the hand of a private enemy, delivered him from an active and implacable rival, and

and opened the road of greatness to the Carlovingian princes.

The arms of Pepin, surnamed d'Heristal from his palace on the Meuse, in the neighbourhood of Liege, soon after the death of Eb-
A. D. 690.
 roin penetrated into the Vermandois, and defeated the royal army commanded by the new minister Bertaire and animated by the presence of Thierry himself; this victory rendered Pepin master of the capital, the finances, and the person of the king. While he engrossed the public authority, he affected to treat the captive monarch with every mark of external respect; and the proud claims of successful usurpation were concealed beneath the veil of apparent humility. During the various nominal reigns of Thierry, Clovis the Third, Childebert, and Dagobert, he maintained his power, unshaken and undiminished; and his repeated triumphs over the Frisians, the Alemanni and the Bavarians, confirmed his influence and extended his reputation: The last years of his life were embittered by the loss of his son Grimoalde, who fell a victim to the envy of the nobility; but his death was severely revenged by Pepin, who soon afterwards terminated with his last breath,
A. D. 714.
 a prosperous administration of twenty-six years, having previously appointed his grandson Theudoalde, then only six years old, the mayor of the palace.

From a race of princes destitute of virtue and ability, we turn with pleasure to their powerful ministers, whose enterprising counsels and steady valour augmented the glory and protected the dominions of the French empire. The infant years of Theudoalde were indeed oppressed by the jealousy of his sovereign Dagobert, and the defeat of his adherents was soon followed by his death: But the tottering
A. D. 715.
 house of Pepin was propped by the splendid talents of his illegitimate son Charles, who, a-

midst the alternate vicissitudes of fortune, displayed a magnanimity of mind worthy of his father. Bursting from the bands of enthrallment, he was received with open arms by the Austrasians, raised to the dignity of duke, and entrusted with the absolute command of their forces; though encompassed by difficulties, his genius rose superior to his situation.

A. D. 716. The death of Dagobert relieved him from an antagonist, who displayed a degree of spirit uncommon in the degenerate Merovingian race; and the election of Chilperic from the cloyster, presented a competitor whose virtues were unequal to pierce through the mists of a monkish education. In his retreat through the forest of Arden, the camp
 March 19. of the incautious monarch was surprised by
 A. D. 717. the vigilant Charles; and in a more considerable action between Arras and Cambray, the royal forces fled before the sword of the Austrasians.

The distress of Chilperic prompted him to negotiate an alliance with Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, who during these troubles had occupied all the Franks formerly possessed on the other side of the Loire; the friendship of Eudes was purchased by the solemn cession of the country he had seized. To encounter with equal arms his adversaries,

A. D. 719. Charles, in imitation of the policy of his father Pepin, raised to the throne in Clotaire a new phantom of royalty; and advancing rapidly to Soissons, surprised by his unexpected appearance the confederate princes. The host of Chilperic and Eudes gradually dissolved before the presence of the hero; and the duke of Aquitaine, hopeless of success, accepted from Charles the same terms as he had stipulated with Chilperic, and delivered the Merovingian king into the hands of the duke of Austrasia.

The misfortunes of the unhappy Chilperic, whose conduct has procured him an honourable exemption
 from

from the list of indolent princes, received some alleviation from the respectful treatment he experienced. On the death of Clotaire, Charles caused him to be acknowledged king of Austrasia, and sovereign of all the dominions of the Franks; but from this moment, the administration was absolutely vested in the mayors of the palace; and the obscure names of successive Merovingian princes, whose feeble characters are described by the epithet *faineans*, lazy, have almost eluded the researches of the historian.

One competitor still rejected the authority and opposed the arms of Charles; and Rainfroy, who had been appointed by Dagobert the mayor of the palace, obtained from his vigorous defence an advantageous treaty with the peaceable enjoyment of the country of Anjou. The indefatigable efforts of Charles had no sooner triumphed over domestic foes than he prepared to encounter the foreign enemies of the state: His life was successfully and incessantly exercised in the cabinet and the field; the A. D. 725. Suevians and Frisians were vanquished; the haughty spirit of the Alemanni was broken by reiterated victories; twice he baffled the perfidious enterprises of Eudes, and by the invasion A. D. 731. of Aquitaine, taught him in future to observe the faith he had pledged: The distress of that prince soon summoned Charles to his relief; and the duke of the Franks, in the defence of the religion of Christ, prepared to erect a noble monument to his own glory.

In the rapid growth of little more than a century, the faith of Mahomet had over-shadowed the provinces of the east; the victorious Saracens had penetrated into Europe, occupied Spain, passed the Pyrenees, and appeared under the walls of Thoulouse. Near that city, in an obstinate engagement with Eudes, the lieutenant of the Caliph lost his life

and army: But the faithful were not dismayed by adversity; the barrier of the Pyrenees was once more burst; the south of France submitted to the religion of Arabia; and Eudes, defeated by Abderame, the leader of the Saracens, was reduced to solicit the protection and implore the assistance of the duke of the Franks.

The forces of the confederates were commanded by Charles and Eudes; between Tours and Poitiers the christian religion was vindicated against the fol-

A. D. 732. lowers of Mahomet. During six days of desultory combat, the archers and horsemen of the east maintained their wonted superiority; but on the seventh, the host of the Saracens was oppressed by the robust stature and nervous courage of the warriors of the west. On that memorable occasion, the weighty strokes of Charles first acquired him the surname of *Martel*, the *Hammer*; the bloody field was strewed with Abderame himself, and, if we credit the monkish writers, three hundred and seventy-five thousand Mahometans. But though this number is, doubtless, exaggerated, the victory was complete; the chiefs of the Saracens, amidst the terror of the night, provided each for his separate safety; and Aquitaine was recovered by the arms of Eudes.

A second irruption of the Mussulmen into Provence revived the laurels of the invincible Martel, who in a decisive battle humbled again the Friscons, and slew their duke with his own hand. On the death of Eudes, Charles granted Aquitaine to Hunalde, the son of that prince, reserving to himself the claim of homage without mentioning Thierri, who had succeeded to Chilperic as titular monarch, and who expired soon after. The ambitious mayor of the palace no longer deigned to conceal his authority beneath the sanction of the Merovingian name, and without appointing any successor to Thierri,

Thierry, ruled the empire of France with absolute power. His weighty mediation with the Lombards engaged the gratitude of pope Gregory the third; and the Roman pontiff sent him the keys of the tomb of St. Peter, offered to shake off his dependence on the emperor, and to proclaim Charles consul of Rome; but while the duke of the Franks favourably regarded and encouraged this negociation, the persons most interested in it, pope Gregory the third, Leo the third emperor of the east, and Charles Martel himself, within a few successive months, sunk into the grave.

On the twenty-second of October, after an uninterrupted career of prosperity, A. D. 741. during an administration of twenty-two years from the battle of Cambray, Charles Martel breathed his last in the fiftieth year of his age. Although his victories over the Saracens most probably preserved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet the future happiness of the saviour of Christendom has been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy, who resented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church to the defence of the christian religion, have not hesitated to enroll him among the damned: In a letter addressed to Lewis, the grandson of Charlemagne, it is asserted, that on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the spectators were affrighted by the smell of fire and the aspect of an horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a vision of the soul and body of the founder of the Carlovingian race burning in the abyss of hell.

In an assembly of the nobles, a short time previous to his death, Charles assigned to his eldest son, Carloman, Austrasia; and to his second son, Pepin, surnamed *the Short*, Neustria and Burgundy; to a third son, the issue of a second marriage, he only allotted some lands in France; and the resentment

of

of Grippon soon disturbed the tranquillity of his brothers. With the aid of his mother Sonnechilde he occupied the city of Laon, and surrendered not till he had endured a close and vigorous siege. Sonnechilde was by the victors dismissed to a convent; and Grippon was confined in a castle in the forest of Arden.

The prejudice which might have attended the division of the empire, was averted by the entire harmony which prevailed between the two brothers, Carloman and Pepin. To restrain the turbulent disposition of the nobles, the latter restored
 A. D. 742. in Childeric, the son of Thierry, the regal title; but Carloman, though he assented to the propriety of this measure in Neustria and Burgundy, ruled Austrasia, which he considered as hereditary in his family, with independent authority: The intrigues of their mother-in-law soon compelled the two brothers to vindicate their different titles by arms: That enterprising woman had negotiated a marriage between Hiltrude, the sister of Carloman and Pepin, and Odilon the duke of Bavaria. The Bavarian instigated by Sonnechilde, and alarmed at the growing power of the sons of Martel, formed a confederacy with Theodebald, duke of the Alemanni, and Theodoric the duke of the Saxons; a formidable army was assembled, and the allies, to cover their country and protect their camp, cautiously posted themselves with the river Lech in their front.

Carloman and Pepin were not ignorant of their danger, nor unacquainted with the designs of the confederates; at the head of their faithful Franks they advanced towards the enemy, passed the river at different fords at the silent hour of night, and at the same moment attacked the camp of
 A. D. 743. the allies. During five hours the action was maintained with persevering valour; but at length

length the entrenchments were forced on every side; the dominions of the Bavarians and Saxons were delivered to the rapacity of the victorious soldiers, and the dukes gladly embraced the offer of pardon, on the renewal of their homage and a solemn promise of future fidelity.

During the absence of the two brothers, Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine, in consequence of his engagements with Odilon, passed the Loire, ravaged the open country, and consumed with fire the magnificent cathedral and the greatest part of the city of Chartres. On the approach of the Franks, he hastily retreated; and in the ensuing year the insult was avenged by the presence of Pepin, at the head of a numerous army. Aquitaine was A. D. 744. doomed to expiate by the calamities of war the crime of her sovereign; and Hunalde, tormented with the pangs of disappointed ambition, resigned his dominions to his son, and retired to a convent.

Far different were the motives which influenced Carloman to embrace a life of religious solitude; even in the moment of triumph, in the midst of successive victories, he conceived the design of secluding himself from the follies and vices of the world in the silent gloom of a cloyster. In vain did his brother Pepin, at least with the appearance of sincerity, labour to dissuade him from a design so grateful to his own ambition: Firm and unalterable in his resolution, after humbling the rebellious nations of Germany, Carloman assumed the monastic habit, and fixed his final residence in a A. D. 746. benedictine abbey on Mount Cassin. But while he dedicated the remainder of his life to retirement and religion, his manly mind despised the austerities of the Ascetics, who mortified their affections as the price of eternal happiness.

The undivided administration of the empire of the Franks was, by the abdication of Carloman, vested in

in the hands of Pepin; and we are pleased to discover in the treatment of his younger brother, a proof of the regret with which he acquiesced in the secession of his elder. Grippon was immediately released from his tedious confinement, entrusted with the jurisdiction of a large domain, and the expensiture of considerable revenue: Adversity might have damped, but it had not extinguished the latent flame of ambition; he once more incited the duke of the Saxons to support his claims by the terror of a foreign invasion; the arms of Pepin triumphed again; the Saxons were routed; their duke Theodoric, the A. D. 747. captive of the victor, was from that moment buried in oblivion; and his subjects purchased their pardon by the sacrifice of their religion, and purified themselves in the baptismal fount from the crime of rebellion.

The death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, devolved his sceptre on his infant son Tassilon; and his widow Hiltrude readily offered an asylum to her half-brother, the fugitive Grippon. Assisted by a A. D. 748. strong body of malecontent Franks, the perfidious suppliant seized his sister and her son, and usurped the dukedom of Bavaria: But his transient power vanished on the approach of Pepin; Tassilon was once more restored to his dominions; and Grippon again pardoned by his brother, again endeavoured to awake the dormant embers of faction; and escaping from the city of Mans, sought protection in the court of the duke of Aquitaine.

The enemies of Pepin were crushed by his valour, his friends were multiplied by his liberality; all the powers of royalty had been exercised by the mayors of the palace, and the regal title was only wanting to confirm the succession, and gratify the ambition of the descendants of Charles Martel. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government; and the mayor and nobles were bound

bound by a solemn oath of fidelity to the feeble Childeric. Their common ambassadors addressed pope Zachary to dispel their scruples and absolve their promise; and the Roman pontiff pronounced, that it was lawful to transfer the regal dignity from hands incapable of maintaining it to those which had so successfully preserved it; and that the nation might unite in the same person the authority and title of king. An answer so agreeable to the wishes of the Franks was received with tumultuous approbation; the unfortunate Childeric was degraded, shaved, and immured for ever in a monastery; and the final extinction of the blood of Clovis was forgotten in the rising glories of the Carlovingian race.

CHAPTER II.

The Monarchs of the Carlovingian Race.—Reign and Death of Pepin the Short.—Accession of Charlemagne, King of France and Emperor of the West;—His Victories in Aquitaine, Spain, Italy, and Germany;—His Death and Character.—The Reign of Lewis le Debonaire, or Gentle.—Final Division of the Dominions of Charlemagne between his Grandsons Lothaire, Lewis the German, and Charles the Bald.

THE new monarch was soon summoned to defend by arms the dignity he had acquired; the revolt of the Saxons claimed the presence of Pepin; and at the head of a royal army he chastised the levity of that turbulent people, and augmented their tribute. During this expedition he was delivered from the active enmity of an implacable relation: A. D. 753. The restless temper of Grippon ever stimulated him to new enterprises; he determined to escape

cape from the court of Aquitaine, and to throw himself on the protection of Astolphus, the king of the Lombards; but he was slain as he boldly attacked, with a handful of troops, a fortified pass on the confines of Italy. The submission of the Saxons was soon followed by that of the Bretons; Narbonne was recovered from the infidels; and the injuries and presence of pope Stephen the Third determined the devout conqueror to pass the Alps in support of the successor of St. Peter.

The kingdom of the Lombards, which from the royal residence at Pavia extended to the gates of the ancient capital, oppressed the waning strength and feeble age of Rome; Astolphus, the sovereign of the hostile nation, had possessed himself of Ravenna, and extinguished in Italy the nominal authority of the emperor of the east; Rome was menaced by the victorious Lombard, and the life of each citizen was fixed at the annual tribute of a piece of gold. The Roman pontiff had in vain endeavoured to deprecate the injustice of his enemy; with fearful speed he traversed the Pennine Alps, and implored the protection of the monarch of the Franks; He was lodged in the Abbey of St. Denys, and, during a dangerous sickness, attended by the king in person. On his recovery, Stephen solemnly placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor, bestowed the regal unction on his sons Charles and Carloman, and conferred on the three princes the title of Patricians of Rome.

As the friend of the Roman pontiff, as the father of the ancient capital of the world, the grateful
 A. D. 754. Pepin, at the head of a zealous and martial people, conducted in triumph his late suppliant into Italy. Astolphus, besieged in Pavia by the devout Franks, renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome, restored the city and exarchate of Ravenna, and pledged his oath scrupulously

lously to observe the conditions of the treaty. Ravenna was by the hasty generosity of Pepin transferred to the holy see; and the king of the Franks, exulting in the success of his expedition, repassed the Alps in triumph.

The satisfaction of Pepin was but of short duration; the retreat of the Franks dissipated the fears of Astolphus; he rejected the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already pressed with menaces and arms the independence of Rome. An eloquent epistle, in the name and person of St. Peter himself, rekindled the zeal of the French monarch; the son of Martel resumed his armour, and the rapidity of his march was only to be equalled by that of his success. The distress of Stephen was relieved, the perfidy of Astolphus was chastised, by the appearance of the hero; the Lombard was a second time compelled to sue for peace; and to the former terms was added the stipulation of an annual tribute. The death of Astolphus soon after constrained the barbarians to a transient state of reluctant tranquillity; and their general Didier having seized the sceptre, as a title to his usurpation, solicited and obtained the sanction of the Roman pontiff. A. D. 756.

The repose of Pepin was disturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavours to break, served only to rivet, their chains; and their pardon was purchased by a renewal of their tribute, and an annual supply of three hundred horse. Vaifar, duke of Aquitaine, who had long regarded the growing power of Pepin with a jealous eye, seized the moment of commotion, entered Burgundy, and ravaged the open country as far as Chalons. But the king of the Franks was not to be insulted with impunity; rapidly returning from Germany, he passed the Loire, levelled the castle of Auvergne, and extended his devastations as far as Limoges;

Limoges ; Aquitaine would probably have been reduced into the form of a province of the French empire, had not the designs of Pepin been interrupted by the secret and hostile preparations of his nephew Tassilon, duke of Bavaria.

The boundless lust of power which has marked the potentates of a more polished period, is invariably to be traced through the sanguinary
 A. D. 763. 768. annals of a barbarous age : The ambition of princes has seldom been restrained by the ties of consanguinity, or the impulse of gratitude ; and the moment that Tassilon beheld with envy the rising fortune of his uncle, he ceased to remember that Pepin had formerly delivered him from the usurpation of Grippon. From the court of France he retired into his own dominions, renounced his homage to the French king, and prepared to assert by arms his claim of independence.

The prudence of Pepin was satisfied with securing his frontier, by a chain of posts, against the rash incursions of the Bavarian ; and having provided for the internal peace of his own kingdom, he once more appeared in arms on the banks of the Loire, determined vigorously to prosecute the war in Aquitaine : That river proved but a feeble barrier ; and Vaifar, who at first had endeavoured to impede his progress by laying waste part of the country, embraced the more generous resolution of defending his dominions in a field of battle. A total defeat reduced him to sue in vain for peace ; the duke of Bavaria, intimidated by the misfortunes of his ally, sought a reconciliation, and by his ready submission disarmed the resentment of the victor, who advanced with diligence towards the banks of the Garonne. Distress dissolved the allegiance of the subjects of Vaifar ; and that unhappy prince, conscious of his impending ruin, retired with a faithful band of followers into the country of Saintonge, and defending himself
 with

with indignant valour with a sigh of despair yielded up his crown and life.

The duchy of Aquitaine was, by the arms and fortune of Pepin, re-annexed to the dominions of France; and the victorious monarch had scarce time to indulge the pleasing vision of future conquest, when he was reminded of the instability of human power by the symptoms of his approaching end. He was seized with a slow fever at Xaintes, was conveyed with difficulty to St. Denys, and expired there of a complication of disorders, in the seventeenth year of his reign and the fifty-fourth year of his age. The diminutive form of Pepin A. D. 768. concealed the mind and spirit of a hero; and his genius was equally displayed in action and in council; under his auspices, France attained that strength which enabled his son to pursue his triumphant career of greatness; but a lively people were intoxicated with the glory of the succeeding reign; and the humble epitaph inscribed on the tomb of Pepin, "Here lies the father of Charlemagne," is an imputation on the discernment of posterity.

The dying words of Pepin bequeathed his dominions to his sons Charles and Carloman, who ruled with equal and undivided authority the empire of France: The bosom of the former was filled with the love of action and of glory; but the feeble capacity of the latter regarded with envy the superior fame of his brother; and his early death fortunately averted the dangers which menaced the infant grandeur of France from his hostile jealousy.

The first doomed to feel the nervous arm of Charles was Hunalde, the old duke of Aquitaine, who bursting from a monastic retirement of above twenty years, assumed the garb of royalty, and was received by the returning affections of his subjects: The most important cities freely opened their gates to their long-lost sovereign; and a conquest which had been laboriously

boriously atchieved in successive years, was threatened to be overwhelmed in a revolution of a few weeks. Charles was sensible how much his own reputation was concerned, to oppose the torrent; his entreaties persuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates were scarce joined before the fickle prince changed his sentiments, withdrew with the troops more immediately attached to his standard, and left his brother to support alone the weight of the war. The commanding genius of A. D. 769. Charles supplied the deficiency of his numbers; the duke of Aquitaine, defeated in a decisive battle, escaped with difficulty to the territories of Lupus duke of Gascony, who surrendered him to the formidable embassy of Charles; and the captive Hunalde was dismissed to a prison, from whence he escaped, to embark in new adventures and to endure new calamities.

A marriage which Charles had concluded with the daughter of Didier, the king of the Lombards, was dissolved by the influence of the pope, who reproached that people with the first stain of leprosy; and in his holy invective, seems not unmindful of the sufferings which their sword had inflicted on the successors of St. Peter. The death of Carloman, who was surprised by a mortal disease in the moment that he meditated a public rupture with his brother, had rendered Charles sole master of the empire of the Franks; and the revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war which, with some short intervals, exercised his persevering valour during thirty-three years. From the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, the martial inhabitants of the north of Germany were still inimical to the government and religion of the Franks; they rejected with contempt the servile obligation of tribute, and in successive engagements displayed a ferocious courage which could only be repulsed by the veteran intrepidity of the
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the troops of Charles : A repetition of defeats humbled their haughty spirit. The disturbances in Italy required the presence of the king of the Franks ; and the barbarians were content to offer, and Charles to accept, the language of submission, which deceived neither party, and enabled both to wait a more favourable opportunity of executing their hostile or ambitious designs.

The Lombards, forgetful of the double chastisement which they had received from Pepin, continued to harass the Romans with a repetition of vexatious claims and desultory inroads. The apostolic see was protected by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian the first, and the valour and greatness of the king of the Franks. At the entreaties of the former, the latter prepared to pass the Alps ; he skilfully evaded the fortified posts of those mountains ; A. D. his presence dispersed the army of the 772, 773. Lombards, and while Didier with the old duke of Aquitaine, who had escaped from prison, took shelter in Pavia, his son Adalgise with the widow and children of Carloman, sought immediate safety in Verona. Both cities were besieged at the same moment by the impatient activity of Charles ; Verona was soon compelled to surrender : Adalgise escaped to Constantinople ; but the widow and sons of Carloman are from that period lost in oblivion. The victor, after a short visit at Rome and confirming and enlarging his father's donation to the successors of St. Peter, returned to press the siege of Pavia ; the arms of the Franks were seconded by an internal enemy, and the ravages of the plague determined the inhabitants to implore the clemency of Charles : The old duke of Aquitaine fell a sacrifice to his constancy in opposing the tumultuous clamour of the people ; the gates were thrown open ; the kingdom of the Lombards was finally extinguished ; but the
fate

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fate of their unhappy monarch Didier has eluded the researches of the historian.

In Milan, the victor was crowned king of Lombardy; and after receiving the oaths of allegiance from the nobility, he hastened to repass the Alps, and restrain the destructive incursions of the Saxons, who had already re-assumed their arms, and recovered

Eresbourg, near the Weser, which they had lost in the former campaign: That city, on the appearance of Charles, was again compelled to change its master; but a considerable detachment of the Franks, appointed to guard the passage, and separated from their companions by the broad stream of the river, was in the moment of heedless confidence overwhelmed by the crafty barbarians. This check, with new disturbances in Italy, induced Charles to receive, with hostages from the different tribes, the doubtful professions of the Saxons; and after strengthening the fortifications of Eresbourg he pointed his march with unwearied diligence towards the west.

The clouds which darkened Italy, and which had been swelled by the intrigues of the emperor of the east and the fugitive Adalgise, were dispelled by the presence of the monarch; but the storm still shook the north with unabated violence, and the boasted works of Eresbourg were swept away by the fury of

A. D. the tempest. The rapid return of Charles 776, 777. surprised the Saxons in the siege of Sigebourg, and his unexpected appearance once more renewed their professions of loyalty. The fortifications of Eresbourg were restored; new forts were constructed along the Lippe; an assembly of the barbarian chiefs was held at Paderborn, in Westphalia; and Charles having received their homage, prepared, at the solicitation of Ibinala, lord of Saragossa, to march into Spain, and to restore the suppliant Emir.

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The authority of the exiled Arabian was re-established by the arm of the christian monarch, who reduced Pampeluna, traversed the Ebro, and successfully invested the city of Saragossa. The rebellious followers of Christ and Mahomet were impartially oppressed by the defender of insulted sovereignty; and the march of Spain, which the victor instituted, extended from the A. D. 778. Pyrenees to the river Ebro. Barcelona was the residence of a French governor; he obtained the counties of Roussillon and Catalonia; and the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were subject to his jurisdiction: But in his return, his rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and this action, which has been so much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland, seems to impeach the military skill and prudence of Charles.

The ensuing year was dedicated by the indefatigable monarch to again suppressing the com- A. D. 779. motions of the Saxons, and to framing that system of laws which has even commanded a degree of reverence in this more enlightened age. With his queen and his two younger sons, Carloman and Lewis, he re-passed the Alps; reposed during the winter at Pavia; and on the approach of spring, entered Rome amidst the triumphant acclamations of the inhabitants. In that Imperial city, and in the presence of the Roman pontiff, on Easter-day, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, he divided his dominions: He conferred on Carloman, who then changed his name to Pepin, the kingdom of Lombardy; and on Lewis he bestowed that of Aquitaine: The latter he conducted in person to Orleans; but while he congratulated himself on the submission of Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, and vainly imagined, that by the division of the empire he had secured the tranquillity of his reign, the pleasing vision was dissipated by the restless temper of the Saxons; and

the persevering valour of Charles was severely exercised in the bloody labours of three German campaigns.

The latent spark of independence still glowed within the martial bosoms of the barbarians: The rising flame was fanned by the breath of Witikind, a Saxon chief, who had twice retired from the victorious arms of Charles to the friendly court of the king of Denmark. His return inflamed the indignant spirit of his countrymen; his counsels guided, his courage animated them; the dissensions of the royal generals ensured their defeat: The scanty and desponding remnant of the Franks beheld before, a host of enraged barbarians; behind, the rapid stream of the Weser. Their deliverance was atchieved by the incredible diligence of Charles; the Saxons were again dispersed; and the implacable monarch burning for revenge, penetrated into the heart of their country. Witikind had again eluded the royal resentment, but his confederates were the victims of offended majesty; four thousand five hundred of the champions of freedom purpled with their blood the polluted waters of the Weser; and Charles, by the unprecedented execution, relinquished his claim to humanity, without attaining the submission of Saxony.

The emotions of rage were for a moment suspended by those of fear; but they soon burst forth with accumulated violence; and the ineffectual victories of three successive years induced Charles, fatigued with the unavailing carnage, to attempt that by policy which he had fruitlessly endeavoured to atchieve by force. He persuaded Witikind and some of the most powerful chiefs to an interview; he urged to them the impending ruin of their country, and prevailed on them, by the powerful arguments of interest and flattery, to embrace the christian faith, and to dispose the minds of their

their countrymen to a faithful and permanent submission.

The revolt of the Saxons had been supported by the friendly assurances of Tassilon, duke of Bavaria. The king of the Franks, at the head of a formidable army, was determined to chastise a faithless kinsman, whom no treaties could bind. The destruction of Tassilon appeared inevitable; and Charles had already penetrated to the banks of the Lech, when the duke privately entered the camp, and threw himself at his feet. The abject posture of the prince excited the compassion of the monarch, and he was dismissed to swell the account of his ingratitude and treachery. His hostile negociations were extended to the barbarian Huns, the emperor of the Greeks, and the fugitive Adalgise; his intrigues fomented the discontents of the factious nobles of Aquitaine and Lombardy; but his subjects dreaded in his rash designs their own destruction; they revealed the secret of his perfidy to Charles; and Tassilon, as he fearlessly entered the diet of Ingelheim, was arrested by the command of the French monarch: The evidence of his guilt was incontestible; he was condemned, with his two sons, to lose his head; the punishment was commuted into monastic confinement, and the principality of Bavaria was annexed to the dominions of Charles. A. D. 787.

The fate of Tassilon could not deter his confederates the Huns, and the emperor of the east; but their enterprises only served to augment the glory of Charles, and his commanding genius triumphed over the barbarians in the fields of Bavaria, and over the Greeks in the plains of Italy: The latter renounced for ever the fortunes of Adalgise, and the vain hope of restoring the kingdom of the Lombards; but the former still continued their desultory incursions, and provoked him A. D. 788, 791.

to retaliate the calamities they had inflicted on Bavaria. At the head of a formidable army, Charles entered the country of the Huns, forced their entrenchments in an obstinate engagement, and penetrated as far as Raal, on the Danube; an epidemic disorder, with the approach of winter, compelled him to retire; and his transient exultation was soon interrupted by a calamity of a domestic nature. His eldest son Pepin, impatient to taste the joys of empire, and envious of the establishment of his younger brothers, conspired against the life of his father; the unnatural project was revealed by a priest, who had accidentally fallen asleep in the church where the conspirators assembled; he was awaked by a number of voices, and found the associates deliberating on their last measures. Charles was summoned from his bed to learn the guilt of his son; the feelings of a father checked the hand of justice, and doomed Pepin to expiate his crime by a life of religious penitence.

The restless spirit of the Huns was again in arms; the impatient Saxons once more threw off the yoke; the Moors deluged with their numbers the dominions of Charles in Spain; and while that monarch flattered himself with the vain hope of tranquillity, his conquests were shaken, and his kingdom assailed on every side. Instead of endeavouring instantly to repel the attacks of his enemies, with a well-appointed army; the king of the Franks waited to seize the favorable moment; the Moors were soon recalled by the victories of Alonso the Chaste, king of Leon; and Charles marched in person to chastise the Saxons, and humble the Huns.

The former consented again to receive the christian religion, and to deliver one-third of their army to the service of the victor; the latter defended their freedom and country with incredible obstinacy. Although often defeated, their

their love of independence was invincible; and the war was only concluded by the death of the prince, and the almost annihilation of the people. One tribe alone was induced to submit to the rites of baptism, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of the Franks.

The dissensions of the Moorish chiefs invited Charles to the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca; but the satisfaction attending this expedition was more than balanced by the tumults which reigned at Rome. After the death of Adrian, his nephew aspired to the apostolic chair; but Leo the Third, a priest of the Lateran, was preferred by the voice of the electors. For four years, the disappointed candidate nourished the secret desire of revenge; and, on the day of a procession, a furious band of conspirators assailed the sacred person of the pope. Leo was left for dead on the ground; his revival from his swoon, with the natural recovery of his speech and sight, were improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which it was asserted he had been deprived by the knife of the assassins. From his prison he escaped to the Vatican, and was protected by the duke of Spoleto, then general of the French forces. Charles sympathized in his distress, and invited the presence of the Roman pontiff to his camp of Paderborn, in Westphalia; with a numerous escort he dispatched the holy sufferer to Rome, and declared his intention soon to visit the sacred city, and to redress the grievances of the successor of St. Peter.

The desultory descents of the Normans already afflicted the dominions of Charles which bordered on the sea: These daring adventurers, descending from the snowy mountains of Norway, explored every shore that promised spoil, or settlement. Their naval achievements commanded the presence of the king himself; and the French monarch restrained
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his impatience to avenge the injuries of his holy ally, till he had endeavoured to provide for the security of his own subjects, and to restrain the depredations of the northern pirates, by constructing forts at the mouths of the most navigable rivers. To this mode of defence he added a regular militia, and appointed squadrons, at proper stations, to cruise against the invaders.

After having diligently traversed the boundary of his territories, the zealous monarch prepared to pass the Alps, on his fourth and last pilgrimage to Rome. The conqueror of the Saxons was received in the eternal city with the due honours of King and Patrician. Leo was permitted to clear himself, by oath, of the crimes which had been imputed to him; and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by the exile of his enemies. It was on the festival of Christmas that Charles appeared in the church of St. Peter; and after he had devoutly assisted at mass, the Pope suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations, "Long life to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God! Long life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." The pope immediately consecrated his head and body by the royal unction, and conducting him to a throne, paid him those marks of respect which had been only claimed by the ancient Cæsars. In his familiar conversation with his secretary and son-in-law Eginhard, Charles, who indissolubly blended in the name of *Charlemagne* the appellation of *magnus*, great, protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo; and declared, had he known them, he would have disappointed them by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and though the son of Pepin affected to despise a title which was accompanied by no real advantages, yet,

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in his correspondence with the emperors of the East, he exacted, with a scrupulous jealousy, their acquiescence in the dignity which he derived from the gratitude of the successor of St. Peter.

Among the ambassadors who adored the greatness, and congratulated the fortune of the emperor of the Romans; those of the caliph Harun-Al-Rashid gratified the piety of the christian monarch, by the cession of the holy sepulchre, and the sacred city of Jerusalem: A more important negotiation was entrusted to the ministers of Irene, the empress of the east; and the artful princess, odious to her own subjects by the murder of her son, endeavoured to secure the protection of Charlemagne, who was then a widower, by a proposal of marriage. The king of the Franks readily entertained the idea; two ambassadors were dispatched to the Byzantine court; and if Charlemagne was sincere in this treaty, he must have been disappointed by the nuptials of Irene with Nicephorus: The new emperor of the east consented to acknowledge in his unsuccessful rival the dignity of Augustus, and to settle the mutual boundaries of the two empires.

The Normans, whose adventurous spirit was destined to shake the empire of Charlemagne, under their leader Godfrey, menaced with their fleets and armies the tranquillity of the west. A transient peace was established, from motives of mutual convenience; the subjects of Charlemagne were to respect the Norman territory, and Godfrey promised, in his piratical descents, to refrain from the dominions of the Franks.

A life of continual action must have impaired the most vigorous constitution; and his excessive attachment to female charms contributed to hasten the decay of Charlemagne's; while a momentary calm allowed him a suspension from the labours of the field, at an assembly held at Thionville.

onville, he settled the final distribution of his dominions. Aquitaine and Gascony, with the Spanish March, he assigned to his son Lewis; his possessions in Italy he confirmed to Pepin, and added to them the best part of Bavaria, with the country at present inhabited by the Grisons. To Charles, his eldest, he reserved the more powerful kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Thuringia; and after publicly subscribing the royal donation, he rendered it, in a superstitious age, more authentic by the sanction of the Roman pontiff.

The different princes were, in the same year, summoned to defend their new dominions by the force of arms; in Aquitaine and Italy, Lewis and Pepin triumphed over the infidels, whom the former expelled from the island of Corsica, and the latter defeated in Catalonia. The revolted Slavonians, who had ravaged Bohemia, were crushed by the power of Charles; and the declining age of Charlemagne listened with paternal fondness to the martial achievements of his sons.

But the cares of the imperial master of the west were numerous and frequent; his happiness was rare and fleeting. The Normans already pressed upon his empire with accumulated force; and the terror of the Scandinavian name had extended from the Baltic to the British Channel: The infirmities of waning life were silenced by the imperious voice of ambition; and Charlemagne's vain menace, that he would settle his disputes with Godfrey on the Norman frontier, was retorted by the daring adventurer, that he would save him that trouble, by advancing with an army to the gates of Aix-la-Chapelle. The policy of Charlemagne delayed the threatened danger, by fomenting the discontent of the northern powers; but those disturbances were no sooner quelled, than the squadrons of the Scandinavian rovers, commanded by Godfrey in person, cast anchor on the coast of Friezeland.

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The undisciplined courage of the inhabitants, and the inexperienced hands of militia, were in vain opposed to the hardy invaders, trained to arms, and habituated to war. The French and Frisians were incapable of withstanding their rapacious fury; and Charlemagne, with what forces he could hastily collect, advanced to restore the confidence of the dismayed provinces. Whilst he anxiously awaited the signal of battle, he was agreeably surprised by the unexpected retreat of the enemy; and the dagger of a private assassin extinguished the life of Godfrey, and delivered the king of the Franks from his most formidable antagonist. The son of the Norman chief inherited not the martial disposition of his father; his first step was to solicit a sincere alliance with the emperor of the west; and Charlemagne was preserved from hazarding the glory which he had so painfully acquired in a doubtful contest with the fierce warriors of Norway.

The satisfaction which Charlemagne indulged on this fortunate occurrence, was embittered by the death of his most favourite daughter Rotrude, and of Pepin, king of Italy: An infant and illegitimate son of that prince was by the disconsolate emperor appointed to succeed to the Italian sceptre; and the lapse of a few months again beheld the unhappy monarch weeping over the tomb of his eldest son, Charles. The increasing weight of public cares suggested to him the necessity of associating his surviving son Lewis to the Imperial purple; The ceremony was performed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the aged emperor inculcated to his youthful colleague the maxims which had advanced, during his own reign, the happiness of his subjects. His augmented infirmities admonished Charlemagne to prepare for his impending end. About the middle of the month of January which succeeded the association of Lewis, he was attacked by a fever, and conscious of his danger, he beheld

beheld with firmness the approach of death. On the twenty-seventh, a fainting fit announced his speedy dissolution; and on the twenty-eighth, after uttering, in a low and faltering voice, these words, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit," he immediately expired, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh year of his reign.

At the conclusion of the life of Charlemagne, it may be expected that some moments should be employed in delineating his character, the maxims of his government, and the extent of his conquests. In height, he exceeded the common race of men, and the accuracy of a French writer has fixed his stature at upwards of six feet; his robust form was endowed with a mind equally strong; and his patronage of literature is attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, and his familiar conversation with the learned whom he invited to his court. But though the encouragement of learning encircles with the purest lustre the memory of Charlemagne, yet it cannot be concealed that his own acquisitions were tardy and imperfect; and that, in the more mature period of his life, he strove with difficulty to acquire the practice of writing. Simple in his dress, temperate in his diet, he bore with patient firmness the vicissitudes of the seasons; and the fatigues of war were succeeded in peace by the manly exercises of the chase. Yet his moral virtues are stained with the charge of incontinence; and nine wives or concubines, with a train of licentious amours, proclaim the vigorous constitution of the king of the Franks, whose numerous illegitimate offspring sought refuge and support in the plentiful establishment of the church, and whose daughters too openly indulged those appetites which had sullied the fame of their father.

As a statesman, his prudence must be arraigned by the dangerous measure of dividing his kingdom among

among his sons ; but his counsels to his colleague, Lewis, which exhort him to consider the people as his children ; to be gentle in his administration, but firm in the execution of justice ; to reward merit ; to promote his nobles gradually ; to choose his ministers deliberately, but never to remove them capriciously ; are maxims which cannot be too strongly recommended, or too readily adopted. Yet his own humanity is impeached by the silent extinction of the sons of Carloman ; and even could he elude the doubtful fate of his nephews, the wanton massacre of four thousand five hundred Saxons, who were beheaded on the same spot, speak the unfeeling hero of a barbarous age. But although a mind inflated by prosperity might sometimes be insensible to the voice of pity, it was his assiduous aim to improve the laws and manners of the Franks ; the inveterate evils of the times were mollified by his government ; and his attempts, however imperfect, announce the spirit of the legislator.

The victories of Charlemagne restored to the monarchy of France the province of Aquitaine ; confined the Bretons to the shores of the ocean, and compelled them to acquiesce in the security of hostages and the disgrace of tribute. His authority embraced that part of Spain which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro, and comprehends Roussillon and Catalonia, Navarre and Arragon. From the Alps to the borders of Calabria, Italy revered in the person of Charlemagne, the patrician of Rome, and the king of the Lombards ; but the Duchy of Beneventum, which spread over the modern kingdom of Naples, eluded rather than resisted the power of the son of Pepin ; and after a transient submission, escaped from the French yoke. To the sceptre of France, the emperor of the west united that of Germany ; and the schools which he established in the barbarous regions on either side of the
Weser,

Weser, atoned, in some measure, for the cruelties he perpetrated in the pursuit of dominion. The Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, in vain opposed to his ambition their love of independence and hereditary valour: In eight successive campaigns their youth were slaughtered, their treasures rifled, and their strength broken; and the empire of the Franks stretched between east and west from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; and between the north and south from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, which still separates Denmark from Germany.

The union and stability of the western empire depended upon the life of the hero who had restored it, and the mighty mass was feebly inspired by the soul of his son and successor Lewis the Gentle. The administration of that prince in Aquitaine had been stamped by the approbation of his father, and his reputation might perhaps have stood higher with posterity, had he never been called from the regulation of a narrow principality to conduct the complicated machine of a great empire. Italy alone, of the dominions of Charlemagne, acknowledged in Bernard the son of Pepin a distinct master, who only confessed the superiority of Lewis his uncle by the form of homage; but the rest of the inheritance and acquisitions of Charles were governed by the absolute will of Lewis.

At the time that Lewis, surnamed *Debonnaire*, Gentle, ascended the imperial throne of his father, he had attained the mature age of thirty-six years, and had espoused Ermengarde, the daughter of the count of Hesbai, of the diocese of Liege; three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis, were the fruits of these nuptials; the eldest was associated to the empire, the two younger were entrusted with the governments of Bavaria and Aquitaine, and each violated every tie of filial and fraternal duty. The partition of the empire was opposed by the arms and intrigues of Bernard king of Italy; his

his fruitless attempts proved fatal to himself; the stings of disappointed ambition hastened his premature death, which had already been decreed by the sentence of the emperor. The fierce nations of the North, scarcely to be controlled by the genius of Charlemagne, disdained the weak arm of his successor; the Bretons burst again from their narrow bounds, and were with difficulty repelled and confined within their proper circle: But the most disastrous events which distinguished the year, were the death of Ermengarde, and the marriage of Lewis with Judith, descended from the nobles of Bavaria and the dukes of Saxony; but whose splendid accomplishments concealed an ambitious mind, the source of equal calamities to her consort and the empire.

The meek piety of the master of the west, had nourished the holy ambition of the successors of St. Peter; and Paschal the First, without deigning to solicit the consent of the emperor, seated himself in the apostolic chair. To Lothaire was assigned the important task of humbling the assuming pope; but the excuse of the artful priest was too readily accepted; the liberality of Lewis confirmed to the holy see the prodigal donation of his ancestors; and Lothaire condescended to receive his crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff. A. D. 823.

It is unnecessary to disgust the reader with the weakness of a monarch, who was prevailed on by monkish influence to atone, by public penance, for the firmness with which he had guarded his sceptre from the invidious attempts of his nephew Bernard; and I hasten from his vain efforts to convert the unbelieving warriors of Denmark, to the birth of his son Charles, whose fatal pretensions shook the throne of his father, and involved the empire in the calamities of civil war. Already that empire was assailed by the fury of its foreign enemies; the Bretons once more resumed their arms, and violated their recent oaths of allegiance; A. D. 824. 830.

ance ; a torrent of Moors deluged the face of Catálonia ; the revolt of Navarre may be considered as the foundation of its future independence ; and the ambitious designs of the empress Judith closed the gloomy prospect with the dark scene of fraternal discord.

The kingdom first intended for Charles was that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine, the country of the Grisons, and the district of Burgundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiss Cantons ; but the sons of the emperor rejected the injurious partition with contempt ; Pepin and Lewis advanced with the forces of Aquitaine and Bavaria ; the royal troops deserted the imperial standard, and crowded to that of the malecontents ; the emperor himself became a prisoner in the hands of his children ; and on the arrival of Lothaire, to whose superior dignity the other brothers reluctantly submitted, the empress retired to a monastery, and exchanged her diadem for a veil. But the heart of Lothaire was not entirely callous to the impressions of filial affection ; he dreaded the reproaches of the world, nor could he be indifferent to the menaced censures of the church ; prostrate at his father's feet he implored the pardon of his guilt ; and the diet which met to depose, was most eager to confirm the authority of the emperor.

Lewis was no sooner re-established on his throne than he recalled his empress from religious retirement ; and the monastic vows of Judith were absolved by the fickle indulgence of Gregory the Fourth. The implacable enmity of an injured female was not to be conciliated by the tardy repentance of Lothaire ; that prince was deposed from the rank of emperor, and reduced to the title of king of Italy ; and the impolitic violence of his step-mother compelled him to seek his own safety in joining the hostile preparations of his brothers Pepin and Lewis.

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The emperor was scarcely informed of the designs of his sons before he encreased the general discontent, and alienated still more the minds of his subjects by revoking his grant of Aquitaine A. D. 832. to Pepin, and transferring it to Charles, then only nine years of age; while Gregory the Fourth restored to Lothaire the imperial dignity, and strengthened by his presence the arm of the son against his father. Again deserted by his people the unhappy monarch was hastily deposed by an obsequious assembly of the dependants of the confederates; and Lothaire, by the same authority, was raised to the vacant throne. The empress was dismissed to a nunnery at Tortona, and Charles was strictly guarded in a castle in the forest of Arden. The victorious princes, after solemn professions of mutual attachment, separated, and each retired to his respective dominions; the pope to Rome, and Pepin and Lewis to Aquitaine and Bavaria.

In the moment of triumph Lothaire had embittered the degradation of his father by an ostentatious display of ceremony, and instead of the purple robe had assigned him the humble habit of a penitent. His submissive resignation to the insults of an unnatural son obliterated the guilt of his consort; the misfortunes of their lawful sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever discontented with the ruling powers, and the active diligence of his adherents soon opened the road for his restoration. Dreux, bishop of Mentz, awakened Lewis of Bavaria to a sense of his interest and duty; he armed in the cause of a sovereign and a parent; the nobility of France encouraged by their alacrity his hopes; the Saxons swelled the numbers and terror of his host; the aged emperor was restored to St. Denys; his son Charles was released from prison; and Lothaire, after a fruitless resistance, was compelled to deplore his crime, and throw himself on the mercy of his father.

Empire

Empire had no charms for the uxorious Lewis, unless it was shared with the partner of his bed; and Judith was once more recalled, and once more absolved; yet ever restless, and unbroken by adversity, she again resumed her intrigues for the establishment of her son, and engaged the fond partiality of her husband to add the kingdom of Neustria to the dominions before intended for him. In a solemn assembly, and in the presence of Lewis of Bavaria, Charles was declared king of Neustria, and the discontent of Lothaire and Pepin died away in ineffectual murmurs; but the death of the latter was productive of a new partition. The claims of his children Pepin and Charles were disregarded, the son of Judith was invested with the kingdom of Aquitaine; and the French dominions of the deceased prince were divided between the brothers, Charles and Lothaire, the latter of whom was named as the guardian of his infant nephew.

Lewis of Bavaria, enraged at a division in which his interest was neglected, again unfurled the banner of revolt; but the unexpected appearance of the emperor, with the hostile preparations of the Saxons, compelled him to sue for pardon; yet the insatiate ambition of the empress, and the facility of her aged husband, kept alive the glowing embers of sedition. The commons of Aquitaine vented their discontent in secret meetings, and the nobles openly remonstrated against the injustice which was offered to the sons of their deceased sovereign. It was in vain that Lewis engaged to provide for his grandchildren; the adherents of the youthful Pepin steadily refused to deliver him up to the dangerous protection of an abandoned woman; the empire was menaced with reiterated calamities of civil commotion, and the implacable rage of fraternal discord was suspended, rather than

A. D. 841.

than extinguished, by the death of Lewis le Debonnaire.

The placid virtues and graceful manners of the emperor but ill compensated for the miseries which were engendered by his feeble administration; and a prince to whose name has been added the epithet of gentle, lived without the regard, and expired without the regret of his subjects. His advanced age of seventy-two years accounts for his decease, without assigning the unnatural conduct of his sons as the source of his immediate dissolution; but it is certain that he sunk into the grave with a lively resentment towards the king of Bavaria; and when reminded by the bishop of Mentz, that it was his duty as a christian, to forgive, he replied, "I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to think of seriously obtaining pardon from God also, for bringing my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."

The last reproof of a dying father was but little regarded by those sons, for whose ambitious views he had already reigned too long. The division of his dominions was disputed in a field of battle; and after two years of alternate fraud and force, the plains of Fontenoy attested the active hatred of the contending rivals. Lothaire, with his nephew Pepin, was forced to relinquish the bloody conflict, memorable for the slaughter of one hundred thousand Franks; and the victors

A. D. 842.

Lewis and Charles must have contemplated with horror, a carnage which justifies the historian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away by the madness of kings in the space of a single hour. Yet the advantages they obtained from the sanguinary triumph were far from decisive: Motives of caprice or interest induced each to retire within the circle of his respective dominions; and Lothaire having united his scattered forces, again

pressed with his superior numbers his brother Charles, who was rescued from destruction only by the return of Lewis. The vicissitudes of three successive years of discord exhausted at length the strength, without impairing the animosity of the kindred princes, and they consented to divide those dominions for which they were no longer able to contend. To Lothaire was allotted all Italy, with the sovereignty of Rome, and the track of country within the rivers the Rhone and the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheld. Charles A. D. 844 obtained Aquitaine, with the territory between the Loire and the Meuse; and, with Bavaria, the rest of Germany was assigned to Lewis, who will hereafter be distinguished as Lewis the German.

CHAPTER III.

Reigns of Charles, surnamed the Bald—Lewis the Stammerer—Lewis and Carloman—Charles the Fat—Eudes, Son of Robert the Strong—Charles the Simple—Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy—Lewis the Fourth, surnamed the Stranger—And Lewis the Fifth, in whom the Race of Charlemagne was extinguished.

BY the late partition of the dominions of Charlemagne, the kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever separated; and from this period it is with disgust that the reader must turn from the dark annals of the Carlovingian race, who through the disgraceful series of one hundred and fifty years reigned without virtue or power. The part of Gaul which Lothaire retained, he distinguished by his own name; and by the insensible corruption of time it has sunk into that of Lorraine, which is still annexed

ed to the district. But the empire which he had pursued at the expence of every filial duty, which he had established by the blood of his subjects, afforded him but a transient satisfaction: From the summit of grandeur, which he had attained, the prospect was dreary and comfortless; and amidst the cares of royalty he sighed for the tranquil station of religious privacy. Fifteen years after the decease of Lewis le Debonnaire, he assumed the habit of a monk; and a few days of monastic retirement were only allowed to the prayers of the royal penitent. On his retreat from the throne, he assigned to his eldest son, Lewis the Second, the realm of Italy, the proper patrimony of a Roman emperor; to Lothaire, his second son, the kingdom with the title of Lorraine; and to Charles, his youngest, Provence, Dauphiné and part of the kingdom of Burgundy. The death of the two last princes united the greatest part of their dominions under Charles the Bald, who may properly be considered as king of France; and to his history we hasten to return.

The kingdom of Charles had been afflicted by the annual depredations of the Normans; and the retreat of these northern rovers was purchased at an expence which might have supported a vigorous and successful war: The Bretons also had attempted to shake off the yoke which they indignantly bore, and twice had triumphed in asserting their independence. A third army, led by Charles in person, extorted a tardy and reluctant submission; but no sooner had the repeated incursions of the Normans recalled Charles, than Lewis, duke of Brittany, violated the recent treaty, subdued the neighbouring diocese of Rennes, assumed the royal title of king, and transmitted it to his son Herispee, who maintained it in a bloody field, which beheld the total defeat of Charles, and established the claims of the king of Brittany.

A factious people will ever be the consequence of a weak administration; and the subjects of Charles, insulted by their foreign enemies and oppressed by their own sovereign, implored the protection of Lewis the German: The ambition of that prince readily listened to their distress; and while Charles was engaged in repelling an invasion of the Danes, Lewis with a formidable army marched into the heart of France, received the submission of the inhabitants,

A. D.
858, 859.

and was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Sens. But while he too readily listened to the delusive counsels of his courtiers, who represented his authority as established, and prevailed on him to dismiss his faithful Germans, his transient throne already tottered; his power was undermined; and the approach of Charles compelled him to abdicate a kingdom which he had occupied without a battle, and which he relinquished without a struggle.

The rapacity of the Normans had been invited by the former liberality of Charles the Bald; and during the internal dissensions of France they had seated themselves on the banks of the Seine and the Somme. Solomon, who had seized the throne of Brittany, extended his devastations to the gates of Poitiers; the interest and honour of Charles called aloud for revenge: At the head of a powerful army he entered the hostile country of the Bretons; but

A. D. 860.

the superior number of his forces only aggravated his disgrace; and in a battle, which was maintained with persevering valour during two successive days, he was totally defeated. The victory was chiefly ascribed to the skill and courage of Robert le Fort, or Strong, who commanded the army of Bretons; and the vanquished monarch, sensible of his merits, allured him to his service by the government and ducal title of the Duchy of France, which comprehended the country between the Seine and the Loire.

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The policy of Charles divided the strength of the the Normans; and the sword of the pirates of the Somme was unsheathed against those of the Seine. The abilities of Robert contributed to prop the tottering throne of France; but that gallant chief unfortunately fell in the moment of victory, as he bravely repelled an invasion of the Danes; and his loss was scarcely compensated by the subsequent death of Lothaire, the king of Lorraine, which added to the crown of France the dioceses or cities of Lyons, Befançon, Vienne, Toul, Verdun, Cambray, Viviers, and Urez; together with Hainault, Zealand, and Holland. The remainder of the territories of Lothaire, Cologne, Utrecht, Strasburgh, Treves, Mentz, &c. was allotted to Lewis the German.

The incursions of the Normans still afflicted the kingdom of France; Solomon, king of Brittany, was persuaded to join his forces to those of Charles, and concur in expelling the formidable invaders. The principal leaders of these daring adventurers were besieged in Angiers; and after being reduced to the last extremity, submitted to purchase their retreat and ransom their ships, by surrendering the spoil they had acquired. Solomon himself enjoyed the important triumph over the pirates of Scandinavia but a short time; and his life was the victim of a conspiracy of his own subjects, whose happiness he had promoted in the council and the field. From the internal dissensions of Brittany, the eyes of Charles were turned to a more considerable object; and the death of Lewis the Second, emperor of the Romans, was scarce announced, before the French king, with a well-appointed army, appeared in Italy: His activity anticipated the designs of his brother Lewis, the German; he was received at Rome with the applause of the inhabitants; and the Roman pontiff placed the imperial crown on his head, and saluted him emperor of the Romans.

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It was with indignation that Lewis beheld himself the dupe of his perfidious brother; he repented in arms the shameless breach of faith, entered Champagne, and discharged his fury on the defenceless country: Though he retired at the approach of Charles, he only suspended his hostile measures; his preparations were continued with incessant diligence;

A. D. 876. and the new emperor had reason to rejoice in the death of the king of Germany, who united in his character the qualities of a statesman and a general, and who of all the descendants of Charlemagne, most resembled him. His dominions were divided between his three sons; To Carloman he assigned Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Selavonia, Austria, and part of Hungary; to Lewis, Franconia, Saxony, Thuringia, the lower Lorraine, together with Cologne and the cities of the Rhine; to Charles was left the country between the Maine and the Alps. The news of his brother's decease no sooner reached the emperor Charles, than his restless ambition prompted him to despoil his nephew Lewis; at the head of fifty thousand men he advanced to seize that part which formerly had belonged to Lorraine: In the neighbourhood of Cologne he was encountered by his nephew, with inferior numbers, with equal courage and superior skill; the army of the Franks was broken by the charge of the German cavalry, and Charles himself was glad to escape from the fatal carnage of his devoted subjects: He had scarce united his scattered forces before he was confounded with the intelligence that the Normans had entered the Seine, laid waste the adjacent country, and possessed themselves of the city of Rouen.

A rapid succession of mortifications overwhelmed the fortitude of Charles: The pangs of his mind were communicated to his body; and the ambition which could not be contained within the limits of an extensive empire was for some months confined to the nar-

row space of a bed. From this scene of repose, fainting beneath the effects of disease, he was summoned by the importunities of the Roman pontiff, who claimed from the imperial purple the protection of Italy: That country was still exposed to the desultory attacks of the infidels; the continual descents of the Saracens were encouraged by the intrigues of the duke of Beneventum, and the emperor of the Greeks; and the banners of Mahomet daily insulted the holy seat of the successors of St. Peter. The exhausted frame of Charles the Bald might well excuse him from new labours; and some praise must be granted to that vigour which could rouse him from the couch of sickness to resume the weight of armour. With a small train of followers he passed the Alps; but he had scarce entered Pavia, to which city the Roman Pontiff had advanced to confer with him, when he was informed that Carloman, the king of Bavaria, was already in Italy with a numerous army, and claimed by the will of his father the imperial title. The forces of Charles were still in France; the generals, to whose fidelity he had entrusted them, conspired against him; and the soldiers, in tumultuary exclamations, declared their resolution not to pass the Alps: The indignant emperor, astonished and deserted, retired to France, at the same moment that his competitor, Carloman, alarmed at the rumour of his approach, had precipitately re-entered his German dominions.

The grandson of Charlemagne had escaped the sword of his open enemies, to perish by the practice of domestic treason. His retreat from Italy had been attended with a return of his indisposition; but the favourable symptoms of his disease were extinguished by the treachery of his physician. Sedecias, by birth a Jew, possessed and betrayed the confidence of the monarch; the deadly poison arrested the unfortunate prince in his passage over mount Cenis; in a miserable

ble village, and in a more miserable cottage, the emperor of the Romans breathed his last, in the fifty-fourth year of his age ; thirty-eight years from his ascending the throne of France, and only two from his attaining the imperial dignity.

The ambition of Charles the Bald had continually disturbed the repose of his subjects with the sound of war ; the feeble counsels of his son and successor Lewis, surnamed, from an imperfection in his speech, The Stammerer, exposed the kingdom to the fatal consequences of a weak and divided administration. To secure the attachment of the nobles, he profusely lavished the honours and estates of the crown ; and the power of the sovereign was, during his improvident reign, reduced to an empty shadow. The discontented chiefs were strengthened by the influence of Richilde, the widow of the late emperor, and the step-mother of Lewis, who surrendered with reluctance the ensigns of royalty, entrusted to her by her husband, into the hands of the son of Hermantrude. The monarch received the crown and was anointed with the holy oil by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims ; and the pope, John the Eighth, who had impatiently expected the aid of Charles to repress the insolence of the Saracens, endeavoured in vain to raise his son to the imperial dignity ; his measures were successfully traversed by Lambert duke of Spoleto, and Adelbert marquis of Tuscany : The former, resigning his own pretensions, supported those of Carloman of Bavaria ; and the Roman pontiff, incapable of resisting the arms of the duke of Spoleto, abandoned Rome, and embarked for the friendly coast of France.

The reception of the successor of St. Peter was such as he might naturally expect from a monarch whose cause he had espoused with ardour. In a council assembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff presided, and the

the authority and influence of the Church was not neglected by its holy Father : Among the various canons framed to support the episcopal dignity, it was ordained, that all secular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, should observe the respect due to bishops ; and all persons, however high their rank, were precluded from sitting down in their presence without obtaining their permission. But although the pope repeated, at the desire of Lewis, the ceremony of his coronation, and placed with his own hands the crown on his head, yet his fervour soon cooled towards a prince whom he discovered to be destitute of power and capacity ; and his interests inclined him to seek a more effectual support in the friendship of the factious and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the vatican, which he brandished against the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the sovereign than dismay the conspirators ; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to respect the distress of Rome and to unsheath the sword against the presumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy.

Bernard, marquis of Languedoc, had already erected the standard of revolt ; and equally indifferent to the temporal menaces of the king and the spiritual censures of the church, maintained an haughty and sullen independence. As the monarch advanced at the head of a royal army, to chastise the disobedience and insolence of his subjects, he was seized at Troyes with a disorder which soon proclaimed his approaching dissolution : Sensible of his danger he desired that his sword and crown might be delivered to his son Lewis ; and after a feeble reign of about eighteen months, he sunk into the grave, A. D. 877. and was preserved by death from beholding the impending calamities of his country.

France on the decease of her sovereign, was abandoned to a state of anarchy and confusion : Lewis and Carloman, the issue of his first marriage, were oppressed by a factious nobility ; and Adelaide, his second wife, was pregnant of a son, soon after baptised by the name of Charles, and distinguished by the opprobrious epithet of *Simple*. Of the nobles who, as interest dictated or caprice suggested, propped or assailed the throne of their prince, the first place was due to the rank and connections of duke Boson : His spirit, naturally haughty, was inflated by his marriage with the daughter of Lewis the Second ; his boundless ambition had already attained whatever a subject could possess, high rank, important governments, and a royal alliance : But these acquisitions served only to augment his avidity ; and the crown itself appeared not too great for his merits, or too high for his pretensions. The surname of Hugo, *the Abbot*, proclaims his early intention to have dedicated his services to the church ; but, bold and aspiring, he soon embraced the more enterprising profession of arms, and relinquished the mitre and the cross for the helmet and the sword. To his valour and abilities was entrusted the government of the country between the Seine and the Loire ; and the rovers of the north found in Hugo an antagonist who left them little reason to exult in the death of Robert the Strong. Thierra had, in the reign of the late king, been promoted to the post of chamberlain ; and the favours he had received ought inviolably to have attached him to the family of his benefactor. Bernard, count of Auvergne, had been appointed by Charles the Bald, with Boson and Hugo, to command the troops destined for the Italian expedition ; and was, with those nobles, suspected of having conspired against the life of the king. Such were the four Chiefs to whose protection Lewis had bequeathed the inexperienced youth of his sons ; and their

their influence was opposed by the policy of Abbé Goslin, who had been the principal minister of Charles the Bald; by the name of Conrad, count of Paris; and a long list of nobles averse to tranquil obedience and enamoured of sedition.

The designs of Goslin were veiled by an apparent concern for the prosperity of France, and an ardent zeal for the family of Charlemagne. Both of these were united in setting aside the children of Lewis the Stammerer, and inviting the mature age of Lewis of Germany to ascend the throne of France: That monarch readily listened to the flattering proposal; and while the guardians of the young princes, assembled at Meaux, disputed with each other the spoils of the crown, they were alarmed by the intelligence that a royal army of Germans was rapidly advancing to the frontiers of the kingdom. Abject despair succeeded to ill-grounded confidence; and a disgraceful acquiescence in the claims of the invader was only averted by the steady and prudent counsels of Hugo. The impending danger and distress sanctioned the sacrifice; and he consented to purchase the retreat of Lewis by the cession of that part of Lorraine which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. The offer was accepted; the king of Germany, with a considerable territory in the Low Countries, acquired Toul, Metz, and Verdun; and the abbé Goslin, with his associates, might indulge their ineffectual resentment in reproaching the perfidy of their ally.

Carloman, the second of the sons of Lewis, had espoused the daughter of duke Boson; and that powerful noble prevailed on the assembly held at Meaux to disregard the last instructions of their deceased monarch, and associate with his elder brother Lewis, Carloman to the royal power. The two princes were crowned amidst the acclamations of the people, who had long de-

A. D.
879, 882.

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manded with impatience the authority of a sovereign: But the designs of Boson extended not alone to the elevation of his daughter, his ambition prompted him to aim at a solid establishment, and to secure his fortune beyond the frown of kings. In a long administration of the southern provinces of France he had redressed the grievances of the people, soothed the haughty spirit of the clergy, and attached to his interest a proud and factious nobility: His ready attentions had conciliated the favour of the pope, who wished to display his gratitude by contributing to the completion of his aspiring hopes. Three archbishops, twenty bishops, and a number of counts, assembled at Mante, deliberated on the melancholy state of their country: The expedient they proposed was to erect a new kingdom; and an instrument, subscribed by the assembly, offered Provence to the absolute rule of Boson. The proposal was graciously received and readily accepted; and the brows of Boson were at length encircled with a royal diadem. The countries which composed this new principality, and which from the seat of government has been denominated Arles, were Provence, Lyonnois, Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche Comté, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy, extending on one side into Languedoc, and on the other beyond the Lake of Geneva. Thus the sons of Lewis beheld themselves with indignation despoiled of the fairest part of their inheritance by the sword of a powerful neighbour, and the intrigues of a faithless kinsman.

Their throne indeed was shaken on every side, and the very foundation would possibly have been subverted, had it not been supported by the fidelity and abilities of Hugo the abbot. The splendid promises of Goslin had prevailed on Lewis of Germany to violate the recent treaty, and again aspire to the crown of France: But the inclinations of the malecontents were overawed by the prudent dispositions

tions of Hugo; the Germans in vain penetrated into the heart of France; and the hopes of Lewis were chilled by the languid operations of his partizans. He consented to an interview with his youthful rivals; and a subsequent congress at Gondreville on the Meuse, at which all the descendants of Charlemagne were present, ratified the succession of Lewis and Carloman, and confirmed the possession of Lorraine to the king of Germany.

The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invasion, prepared to chastise the insolence of domestic rebellion; strengthened by their new alliances, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their presumptuous vassal. The confederate forces, assisted by those of Charles, king of Italy, formed the siege of Vienne, defended with masculine valour by Hermingard the consort of Boson. But the princes were soon compelled to separate; and while the continuance of the siege was devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and Lewis, with a considerable detachment, directed his march against the Normans.

These hardy adventurers, disdaining the severity of winter, had in the month of December surprised the city of Tournay, and spread their devastations along the banks of the Scheld. At Saucour in Picardy the rovers of the north were encountered by the maiden valour of Lewis; nine thousand Normans, with their leader Guaramond, expired on the field of battle; the remainder repassed the Somme, and consulted their safety by a hasty retreat: But the inactivity of the conqueror betrays his own loss; and the prudence of Lewis respected the despair of a valiant though vanquished enemy. The victory of Saucour had displayed the courage, and the death of Lewis of Germany proclaimed the moderation of the

the youthful king of France; he rejected with firmness the crown proffered by the inhabitants of Lorraine, and yielded to the superior pretensions of the emperor Charles the Fat. But the French were suffered only a short time to contemplate the rising virtues of their prince: While, at the invitation of the duke of Brittany, he indulged in the hope of erecting fresh trophies over the indefatigable Normans, he had scarce advanced as far as Tours before disease compelled him to renounce the generous enterprise; he returned to expire at St. Denys in the twenty-second year of his age, and his premature death is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison; a suspicion countenanced by the turbulent temper of the nobles, jealous of an active and virtuous reign.

Carloman was still before Vienne when he received the unexpected intelligence of the
A. D. 882. 884. death of his brother, and his own succession to the undivided crown of France. He left the blockade of that place to his principal officers; and at the head of the army assembled by the deceased prince, moved towards the Meuse to repel the robbers of the north: These retired at the approach of the monarch, but their return soon summoned him again to arms; and his double triumph over the rapacious invaders was more honourable to himself than serviceable to his country. His prospect of victory was blasted by the breath of pestilence and the intractable spirit of his own subjects; he was compelled to sheath the sword, and by a lavish donative obtain a short and precarious truce. The disappointment was but ill compensated by the capitulation of Vienne, which permitted Herminigard to retire to her consort at Autun; and while Carloman endeavoured to dissipate his chagrin by the exercises of the chace, an erring javelin, aimed at the boar by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh,

thigh, and in a few days deprived him of his crown and life; yet his last moments interest us in his premature fate, and we drop a tear of pity over the pious deceit of a prince, who endeavoured to screen from the mistaken resentment of the public his unfortunate domestic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he pursued.

The activity of Charles the Bald and his grandson Lewis had awakened the fatal jealousy of their aspiring nobles; and it was natural to suppose the principal lords would have readily concurred in raising to the throne the infant weakness of Charles the Simple, the son of Lewis the Stammerer by his queen Adelaide: Yet Hugo, the abbot, in vain zealously espoused the cause of that young prince; and Charles, surnamed the Fat, the emperor of the Romans, was invited to ascend the throne of France.

A new invasion of the Normans, perhaps, determined the French to place the sceptre in the hands of a powerful branch of the A. D.
884. 888. Carlovingian race; and the dominions of Charles promised an effectual succour, while his limited capacity removed any apprehensions they might entertain from his increase of territory. Godfrey, king of the Normans, had been assassinated at a treacherous interview; and to avenge his death a hostile fleet of seven hundred sail entered the Seine, and spread their devastations as far as Paris. But the capital was defended by the prudence of Goslin, its bishop, and the valour of Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong. In three attacks, the Normans were repulsed with obstinate courage and cruel slaughter; their rage was vented against the defenceless inhabitants of the adjacent country; and in a fourth and general assault they endeavoured to efface their shame: But their despair was ineffectual,

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tual, and their defeat bloody; in the moment as they retired with a sigh of despondence, the gates were thrown open; a daring band sallied from the city, and spread terror and destruction through the ranks of the besiegers. The walls however of Paris were already shaken; to open violence succeeded secret stratagem, and the slow but more certain attacks of famine: A close blockade seemed to preclude all succour, when the fainting spirits of the Parisians were raised by the appearance of Charles, who, with an army collected from Germany, pressed forwards to the relief, and encamped within sight of his capital. Yet Sigefroy, the Norman leader, beheld the hostile standards with an undaunted countenance, and stedfastly maintained his station before the gates of the city. The emperor was awed by the firmness of an enemy whom he might have overwhelmed; he basely consented to purchase a peace which he might have commanded; and he sacrificed to a moment of doubtful tranquillity the fame which he had acquired by his former conduct and courage: As his treasures were inadequate to the sum stipulated, part of Burgundy was abandoned to the avarice of the Normans; and the labours they had endured was repaid by the spoils, and drowned in the luscious wines of the prostrate province.

The piety of Goslin could not support him under the accumulated pressure of fatigue of body and anxiety of mind, and he expired while yet the city was afflicted by the desolating rage of the Normans; Eudes, his companion in toil and glory, survived to receive the applause of his country and the reward of a grateful sovereign. The death of Hugo, the abbot, had deprived both Charles and his subjects of a faithful minister and a steady patriot; and his title of count of Paris was with
general

general approbation bestowed upon Eudes, whose gallantry borrowed additional lustre from the ignominious conduct of the emperor. The health and reputation of that prince rapidly declined; his faculties were visibly impaired; he had scarce returned into Germany before he displayed manifest symptoms of a distempered imagination; and in a diet which was held at Oppenheim he was declared by the nobles of France and Germany incapable of supporting the weight of royalty.

In Italy he had long possessed only the empty name of sovereign; and the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua rejected his authority, and asserted their independence. The crown of Germany was conferred by the free voice of the nobles on Arnold, natural son of Carloman, king of Bavaria, and who had distinguished himself as an able and active general on the frontiers of Pannonia: The unhappy Charles was reduced to beg his bread from the successful rebel, by whose contempt his life and liberty were spared. So headlong was his fall from greatness, so diligent was the revolt of his subjects, that in three days he was left without a servant to administer to his infirmities! The compassion of the bishop of Mentz relieved his immediate necessities; and a scanty and tardy supply from the frigid pity of Arnold, enabled him to linger through a few months of disease and distress.

The most plausible and powerful pretenders to the vacant throne of France were Guy duke of Spoleto, and Berenger duke of Frioul, both equally descended from Charlemagne; Herbert, count of Vermandois, who claimed from Bernard king of Italy; Arnold, king of Germany; and Charles, surnamed the Simple, the posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer by his second wife Adelaide: But his feeble years were incapable of wielding the sceptre

of a tottering empire; and the exigencies of the state called aloud for the virtues of a soldier and a statesman. Eudes was encircled with recent laurels from the important defence of Paris; and the popular opinion named him for the sovereign of France. But the virtuous patriot refused to trample on the laws of succession, or to plunge his country in the calamities of civil war; he declared that he would hold the crown only as a faithful guardian of the infant Charles; and that the formidable competition of Arnold must be averted by the sanction of his free consent. The king of Germany was vanquished by the generous scruples of his rival; and the name of Eudes is inscribed among the monarchs of France.

The short reign of Eudes was diligently devoted
A. D. 888. 898. to repress the insolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. At the head of one thousand horse he dispersed an army of twenty thousand Normans; and the victory of Montfaucon might have been improved to decisive advantage, had not Eudes been recalled from the pursuit by the revolt of Aquitaine. His presence restored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had seized the favourable opportunity: Their banners were displayed on the walls of Meaux, Toul, and Verdun; and Paris itself was again insulted by the licentious arms of the northern rovers. Their destructive incursions into Lorraine were chastised by the arm of the king of Germany; but in France a scene of anarchy and discord presented itself on every side; the nobles of each province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours.

The disorders of the times were the misfortune and glory of Eudes; and his vigour was exerted to restrain the ambition of the chiefs, and re-establish the

the regal authority. Count Walgaire had availed himself of the general distraction, and seized the important city of Laon: The punishment of his presumption was instant and signal; before he could sufficiently fortify the object of his usurpation, he was surprised by the unexpected appearance of the French king. The rebellious garrison was compelled to surrender, and the life of Walgaire atoned for his guilt; the factious chiefs beheld in the chastisement of that noble, their own fate. Aquitaine once more erected the standard of revolt; the king of Germany encouraged the growing discontent; Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Philip count of Senlis, embraced the cause of the empress Adelaide and her youthful son. The feeble prince was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by Fougues, the archbishop of that city: The army of the confederates advanced to the gates of Paris, but the fears of the capital were dissipated by the approach of Eudes; the forces of Charles insensibly melted away before the presence of the hero; the king of Germany was reconciled by the sincerity of his declarations; and Eudes himself soon after extinguished the torch of discord by acknowledging the sovereignty of Charles the Simple, and only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Eudes survived to enjoy but a short time the tranquillity established by his own moderation; in the month of January subsequent to his abdication, he expired at La Fere in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age; esteemed by the Normans whom he had vanquished, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated yet dreaded by the nobility, whose oppressions he had firmly opposed. His infant son, Arnold, succeeded to his principality, with the title of king; but his death in a few days

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after united France under the sole authority of Charles the Simple.

But that extensive kingdom had mouldered away in the feeble hands of the Carlovingian race; Lorraine was solemnly ceded to the king of Germany; duke Rodolfe had, in the reign of Charles the Fat, erected the district of Burgundy, beyond Mount Jura, into a kingdom, and stretched his sway over the greatest part of Franche Comté; Lewis, the son of Boson, maintained an haughty independence in Arles; and though Charles might nominally reign over the remnant of his dismembered dominions, yet his real power was opposed by the formidable pretensions of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Robert, the brother of Eudes. The wise counsels of Fougues, the archbishop of Rheims, might have preserved the unfortunate monarch from the calamities which menaced him, but that prelate was assassinated by Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and the indifference with which Charles received the fate of a faithful servant, who first placed the crown on his head, lessened the zeal of his adherents and encouraged the daring designs of his enemies.

Rollo, whose noble descent and personal qualifications raised him above the crowd of northern adventurers, had entered the Seine and possessed himself of the city of Rouen. The distress of Charles, and the influence of Robert the brother of Eudes, who had cultivated the friendship of the Norman, first suggested the propriety of a treaty with Rollo: The kingdom of Neustria, with the county of Brittany, was offered to the gallant invader; and the conditions that he should become a christian, espouse the daughter of Charles, and do homage for his principality, were accepted by the Norman chief: He was purified in the waters of baptism, and received from the brother of Eudes,
his

his friend and sponsor, the christian name of Robert. Though sixty winters might have impaired his vigour, he consented to divide his bed with a royal princess who had scarcely entered her fourteenth year; but in the ceremony of investiture, he rejected with disdain the servile indignity of prostrating himself before, and kissing the feet of his sovereign: After ineffectual efforts to subdue his inflexible spirit, one of his guards was accepted as his substitute; and the rude Norman, unpractised in the arts of courts, tossed the kingly foot with so much violence as nearly to overturn the chair and to endanger the neck of Charles.

The principality of Robert assumed the title of the Duchy of Normandy; and the robbers of the north acquiesced in the counsels of peace and moderation, and were instructed by their duke to prefer the produce of a fruitful soil to the spoils of piratical adventure. Charles in the same year received some compensation for the dominions he had divested himself of by the death of Lewis the king of Germany. With that prince expired the male line of Charlemagne in Germany; and the vacant throne was, by the free voice of the nobility, filled with Conrad duke of Franconia; but Lorraine refused to acquiesce in the injurious election, and in Charles sought the protection, and acknowledged the authority, of the last prince of the Carlovingian race.

The subjects of the French monarch soon discovered, that the weakness of Charles, under the name of a favourite, required a master; and the obsequious arts of Haganon, a private gentleman, without birth and without fortune, gained the confidence of the king: The cares of empire were devolved on, and the hours of the prince were devoted to, this new minion of fortune; and it was observed by Henry, duke of Saxony, one of the ablest princes

princes of the age, and whose request of an audience had been continually evaded by the answer, that the king was engaged with Haganon, "Either
 " Haganon will seat himself on the same throne
 " with Charles, or Charles will become a private
 " gentleman like Haganon." Yet the favourite, however unpopular, cannot be denied the praise of penetration and fidelity; but the times were adverse to the administration he had assumed; and the two Roberts, dukes of Normandy and France, overshadowed with united influence the power of the crown. Their formidable confederacy compelled the king to dismiss his minister; and their ambition, nourished by success, soon revealed the pretensions of Robert to a throne which had been occupied by his brother Eudes. The recall of Haganon was the signal of war; Robert was solemnly crowned at Rheims; and with the forces of the conspirators encamped under the walls of Soissons. While in ostentatious security he enjoyed the pleasures of the table, he was surprised by the appearance of Charles at the head of a few faithful followers: With undaunted courage he mounted his horse, and endeavoured to restore order to his troops; but in the tumult of the conflict he received a mortal wound from the spear of his rival, and was
 15th June, dispatched by his surrounding enemies.
 A. D. 923.

Yet his son Hugo, and Herbert, count of Vermandois, maintained the battle with more successful valour; and Charles, after having enjoyed the triumph of revenge, was in his turn compelled to retreat before superior numbers, with the loss of his baggage and the bravest of his companions.

The confederates proceeded immediately to elect a new king; the principal competitors were, Hugo, duke of France, and son of the deceased Robert; Herbert,

Herbert, count of Vermandois ; and Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who had espoused Emma the sister of Hugo. The last was by the influence of his wife, crowned at Soissons ; and Charles, deserted by his subjects, endeavoured to arm in his support, by the offer of Lorraine, Henry, king of Germany : That monarch was not deaf to his own interest and the intreaties of his royal suppliant ; the inclinations of William, duke of Normandy, who had succeeded his father Rollo, leaned to the same side ; and the danger of Rodolph was only averted by the treachery of Herbert, count of Vermandois. That nobleman, dreading the restoration of a monarch, whom he had injured too much to forgive, pretended to desert the cause of the new king, and offered, by his deputies, to erect once more the standard of loyalty. Charles, confiding in his promises, marched into the county of Vermandois, with the faithful few who still followed his broken fortunes, and was seized by the perfidious count, and imprisoned in the fortress of Chateau Thierry ; his queen, Egiva, escaped with her son Lewis to the court of her brother Athelstan, king of England ; and Rodolph, released from his apprehensions, turned his arms against William, duke of Aquitaine.

That prince was compelled to purchase his pardon by a ready submission, and the servile condition of homage ; but this gleam of prosperity was soon darkened by surrounding clouds of adversity. The rovers of the north renewed their depredations ; the Normans of France broke forth into open hostilities ; the fickle nobles of Lorraine shook off their allegiance, and claimed the protection of Henry, king of Germany ; and the black swarm of Hungarians, emerging from the heart of Tartary, afflicted the defenceless frontier with the hand of violence and rapine. The throne of Rodolph might have

have stood secure against the foreign enemies of the state; it was shaken to its foundation by a formidable conspiracy of domestic foes. His late associates became his most dangerous adversaries; Herbert, count of Vermandois, had claimed, as the reward of his perfidy, and was refused, the city of Laon; his discontent was communicated to Hugh, duke of France, who had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and the sister of Charles's consort: In conjunction with William, duke of Normandy, they determined to restore the captive Charles to the throne; and Henry, king of Germany, and pope John the ninth, confirmed his growing hopes by the promise of temporal and spiritual support.

The power of Rodolph seemed unable to withstand, yet his genius and policy dispersed, the rising storm; the death of the Roman pontiff delivered him from the menaces of the church; the zeal of Henry was disarmed by the arts of flattery; Herbert was gratified by the acquisition of Laon, and drew along with him Hugh, duke of France; Egiva, once more, by the advice of the duke of Normandy, retired to England; and Charles was surrendered by the count of Vermandois into the custody of Rodolph. He was received with respect, and the royal fetters were rendered less cumbersome by the liberality of the hand which imposed them;

A. D. 929.
Oct. 9th.

yet Charles survived not long this second revolution; in the fifty-first year of his age, at the castle of Peronne, he was released by death from a life of disappointment; and if his feeble character cannot command our esteem, the splendid misery to which he was invariably allotted, excites, at least, our compassion.

The remaining years of the reign of Rodolph present a glorious, but ineffectual struggle with the difficulties of his situation; his successful conflicts with,

with, and the laurels which he acquired from, the Normans of the Loire, and the savage Hungarians, could not restore the internal vigour of France, deeply wounded by the rage of civil commotion. The friendship of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Hugo, duke of France, was soon converted into implacable hatred; the swords of their adherents were unsheathed in this private quarrel; and the latter, who was secretly supported by Rodolph, dispossessed the former of Eu, Amiens, Ham, Arras, and Rheims, and at length besieged him in the city of Laon. Yet Herbert, though unfortunate, had maintained amidst defeat the character of a great captain and a consummate statesman; and jealousy of the growing power of Hugo induced the king to extend to the count of Vermandois the clemency he implored; the duke of France reluctantly restored the towns he had taken, and the homage of Herbert was accepted by Rodolph. That monarch was allowed to enjoy but a short time the tranquillity he had established; in the fourteenth year of his reign he expired at A. D. 936.
Jan. 15th. Auxerre, and his death revived those pretensions which his courage and activity had crushed.

The duchy of Burgundy devolved on the brother of Rodolph, Hugo, surnamed the *Black*; but the most powerful claimant to the French crown was Hugo, duke of France: His designs were traversed by his rival, Herbert, count of Vermandois; and their contention allowed Athelstan, king of England, to plead the cause of his nephew, the son of Charles the Simple. The duke of France was readily persuaded by William of Normandy to stifle his ambitious hopes, and to concur in placing on the throne, a prince with whom by marriage he was so nearly connected. William, archbishop of Sens, was deputed to England to invite Lewis, surnamed

D'Outre-mer,

D'Outre-mer, beyond the Sea, or Stranger; and the young prince, landed at Boulogne, proceeded to Laon, and was crowned in that city by Artaud, archbishop of Rheims.

A. D. 936.
June 26th.

The first measures of Lewis, who was but just entered into the seventeenth year of his age, promised to maintain the internal tranquillity of his kingdom. To discharge his obligations to Hugo, and to secure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him minister, and committed to his hands the reins of government. The duke of Burgundy had presumed on an infant reign, to violate the sanctity of the peace, and to seize the city of Langres; the insult was resented by the duke of France; at the head of a powerful army he penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchase an ignominious peace by the cession of great part of that fruitful duchy. So vigorous a conduct inspired the French with the most pleasing expectations; but the flattering prospect was soon overcast, and the mind of the king appeared to be impressed with a deep and fatal suspicion of his minister. The duke of France perceived himself estranged from the confidence of his master, and retired from an ungrateful court to cultivate the returning friendship of the count of Vermandois. That nobleman surprised the city of Laon; and the king, sensible of his weakness, once more affected to commit himself to the counsels of Hugo, duke of France. Yet, amidst the marks of external regard, he only waited a favourable opportunity to break the chains of his powerful subject; he recalled his mother Egiva, and allured to his side, Hugo, duke of Burgundy, Artaud, archbishop of Rheims, and the count of Poitiers. The duke of France was supported by William, duke of Normandy;

A. D.
936, 942.

mandy; Arnold, count of Flanders; and Herbert, count of Vermandois. Rheims surrendered, and Laon was invested by the army of the confederates; and Charles, having sustained a decisive defeat, in the vain hope of relieving that city, consented to a peace, which was negotiated under the holy mediation of pope Stephen the eighth.

The death of William, duke of Normandy, who was assassinated at the instigation of the count of Flanders, and of Herbert, count of Vermandois, changed the appearance of public affairs; the son of Herbert was protected by the honourable friendship of Hugo; but Richard, the successor of William, was an infant, whose feeble age and extensive dominions promised an easy and wealthy conquest. The neutrality of the duke of France was purchased by the cession of part of Burgundy; and Lewis entering into Normandy, was received at Rouen with every mark of respect by Bernard the Dane, to whose protection the deceased duke had bequeathed the tender years of his son. The Normans were prevailed upon, by the friendly protestations of Lewis, to resign their young duke to his care; he was conveyed to Laon, and the dark design of murder has been imputed to the faithless guardian; but Richard was preserved from the danger by the vigilance of his governor, Osman, who, in the disguise of a groom, escaped with his pupil concealed in a truss of hay, and mounting him on a fleet horse, conveyed him in safety to the friendly castle of Bernard, count of Senlis.

On the flight of Richard, Lewis entered Normandy, and advanced to Rouen with a powerful army, while the duke of France penetrated into the country of Bayeux; but the king was deceived by the submissive declarations of Bernard the Dane,
and

A. D.
942, 945.

and the count of Senlis; he commanded Hugo to retire, who reluctantly obeyed the royal mandate; and, in concert with Bernard, advanced to encounter Aigrol, king of Denmark, who had landed in Normandy to support the claims of the infant duke. The pious fraud of Bernard secured the defeat of the French; and while Lewis was engaged in a friendly conference with Aigrol, his army was suddenly assaulted by the Danes; the Franks were surprised and broken on every side, the count of Ponthieu, with eighteen other nobles, perished on the field; and the king himself, overtaken in the pursuit, was carried prisoner to Rouen.

The person of the captive monarch was granted to the weighty solicitations of Hugo; A. D.
945, 954. but Lewis soon discovered that the fetters of his subject were equally oppressive with those of the Normans; and the price of his freedom, after a twelvemonth's confinement, was the city and diocese of Laon. These were granted by Hugo to the count of Chartres; and the marriage of Emma, the daughter of the duke of France, with Richard of Normandy, awakened the jealousy of the nobles, and the apprehensions of Otho, king of Germany. A formidable conspiracy enabled Lewis to avow his resentment against his powerful vassal; and the provinces of France were alternately afflicted by the arms of Lewis and of Otho, of Hugo and of Richard. During five years the flames of civil war raged without intermission; and the precarious peace which was concluded in a personal interview, may rather be considered as a suspension of hostilities than a restoration of tranquillity. The latent embers of discord were still kept alive, and they again broke out with fresh violence; they were finally extinguished by the mediation of the two sisters, the daughters of Henry of Germany, and the consorts of the king,
and

and duke of France. A permanent peace was established; and Lewis prepared to assert his authority over the revolted lords of Aquitaine, when his designs were broken by a sudden and accidental death: As he pursued a flying wolf with inconsiderate ardour, his horse stumbled and threw him; the injury proved fatal; and in a few days, in the thirty-third year of his age, he closed at Rheims a stormy and unsuccessful reign of nineteen years.

A. D. 954.
Oct. 15th.

The life of Hugo had been spent in an incessant struggle to elevate himself above the condition of a subject; the path of greatness now lay open to his ambitious steps, yet he declined the easy ascent, and raised to the throne Lothaire, the son of Lewis, then only in the fourteenth year of his age. The young prince was crowned at Rheims, and the hasty gift of Aquitaine proclaimed his gratitude to Hugo: That province had long bestowed the title of duke on the counts of Poitiers; and William the second of that family, resented the injustice which transferred his hereditary honours to the duke of France: He refused to acquiesce in the partial distribution; and the lords of Aquitaine, impatient and discontented, crowded to the independent standard of William. With a considerable army, sanctioned by the name and presence of Lothaire, Hugo formed and pressed the siege of Poitiers; but his mind, incapable of personal fear, was susceptible of superstitious terror; a clap of thunder broke with violence over his tent; and Hugo raised the siege. In his retreat he was attacked by William, with his new raised forces; the action was short and decisive; the count was totally defeated, and escaped with difficulty from the sword of the victor.

A. D.
954, 955.

The

The sun of prosperity had invariably gilded the career of Hugo; and his last triumph over the count of Poitiers closed a series of memorable actions: The year following, this celebrated chief, the son and father of a king, and who, without a crown himself, had ruled France with despotic power, sunk into the grave, esteemed by his countrymen, and, perhaps, least of all, regretted by his sovereign. To his eldest son, Hugh, surnamed Capet, he assigned the cities and dioceses of Paris and Orleans, and recommended him to the protection of Richard duke of Normandy; and the three younger, Otho, Eudes, and Henry, succeeded each other in the duchy of Burgundy.

The ambition of Lothaire had invaded the duchy of Normandy; and the duke, pressed by the superior forces of his antagonist, invited to his support the rovers of the north. France was again afflicted by their indefatigable rapacity: Independent and uncontrolled in their depredations, they refused to subscribe to the peace which Richard had concluded; and their retreat was with difficulty purchased by the treasures of France and Normandy: Yet Lothaire no sooner had disengaged himself from this distress, than, ever restless, he attempted to oppress his vassal, the young count of Flanders; that nobleman was preserved by the interposition of the Normans; and the king, baffled in his endeavours to aggrandize himself by arms, flattered himself, by advantageous alliances, with the hope of restoring the waning grandeur of the house of Charlemagne. He espoused Emma, the daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and bestowed his sister on Conrad, king of Burgundy; but the short respite allowed by a peace was followed by years of desolating war; and

and the possession of Lorraine was disputed, during four successive campaigns, by the kings of Germany and France: Their subjects might mutually regret the destructive effects of ambition, but the success of Otho confirmed his authority, while the disappointment of Lothaire contributed to diminish the little reputation he had acquired.

Four years after, the death of Otho the Second dissolved the alliance between France and Germany, and awakened the hopes of Lothaire: That prince, under the pretence of supporting the claim of Otho the Third, invaded Lorraine, occupied Verdun, and assaulted Cambray; but as he indulged himself in the flattering idea of extending the limits of his kingdom, he was surprised in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign, by the approach of death. He

A. D.
984, 986.

A. D. 986.
March 2d.

had already associated his son Lewis the Fifth to the throne; and his premature end, when his affairs had assumed the most favourable appearance, was imputed to poison, and the name of Emma, his queen, has been sullied by the breath of suspicion; but the report probably originated in the malice of Charles, the brother of the deceased monarch, always inimical to that princess, and who possibly hoped to substantiate his pretensions to Lorraine amidst a scene of anarchy and discord.

The throne was filled by Lewis, whose weakness has been characterized by the expressive epithet of *Faineant*; and his inexperienced age of nineteen required the support of a mature and powerful guardian: Hugh Capet had been appointed to that important trust in the last moments of Lothaire; and the fidelity which he had preserved to the father was displayed in the short and turbulent reign of the son.

A. D.
986, 987.

son. But the mind of the headstrong youth was incapable of instruction; he drove with contempt and infamy his mother from his court; and the early death, which delivered his subjects from the dominion of vice and folly, has been ascribed to her implacable resentment. The last of the Carlovingian kings, odious as he was despicable, sunk into the grave; and the founder of a new dynasty seized the vacant throne, and by his wise and temperate counsels restored the power and grandeur of France.

CHAPTER IV.

A short View of the Government and Customs of the Franks, in Germany.—Authority of Clovis and his Successors.—Division of the Spoils and Lands.—The Nature of allodial Possessions and Benefices.—The Laws of the Franks under the first and second Race. The Influence of the Clergy.—France is converted from an hereditary into an elective Monarchy.—The Crown is transferred from the Family of Charlemagne to that of Hugh Capet.

FROM the accession of Clovis to the extinction of the Carlovingian race, the reader is laboriously and ungratefully employed in tracing a series of unimportant wars and uninteresting events. The imperial majesty of Charlemagne darts indeed through the gloom a short ray of lustre; but the darkness soon returns, and the transient gleam which

which his regulations afford, are over-shadowed by a long night of weakness and misery. The historian might perhaps have abandoned the turbulent and disgusting annals, distinguished only by bloody dissensions and kindred hatred, had he not conceived the tedious detail in some measure necessary to elucidate the early government and constitution of the country that he presumes to describe.

In this important investigation it will not probably be deemed superfluous to ascend to the more remote ages of barbarism. In the woods and the wilds of Germany, the Franks, in common with the other nations which inhabited the north of Europe, acknowledged the authority of magistrates or *princes*: These were appointed in the general assembly to compose differences, and administer justice in their respective districts; but their power was limited; and although they were permitted annually to divide the landed property of the diocese they presided over, they were restrained from inflicting the smallest corporal punishment on a people tenacious of their freedom, and jealous of their honour. Each youth, as soon as he attained the age of manhood, was girded with a sword, and claimed his right of voting in the national council: To this council, which met at stated seasons, or according to the public exigency, was referred the punishment of those capital crimes which exceeded the cognizance of the princes; and in it were agitated the important questions of peace and war. When the last question was determined on, each tribe elected a general to guide his countrymen by his experience, or animate them by his example; but with the return of peace, the delegated authority expired, and the chief retired to a private station, unless the purity of his birth entitled him to the administration of justice, as the fame of his valour had recommended him to the command in arms.

But while the Franks rejected with disdain, or reluctantly submitted to the authority of their magistrates, they voluntarily bound themselves in engagements the most sacred and indissoluble. To borrow, in the lively description of Tacitus, the elegant pen of a celebrated modern historian, The noblest youths blushed not to be numbered among the faithful companions of some renowned chief, to whom they devoted their arms and service. A noble emulation prevailed among the companions, to obtain the first place in the esteem of their chief; amongst the chiefs, to acquire the greatest number of valiant companions: To be ever surrounded by a band of select youths; was the pride and strength of their chiefs; their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond the narrow limits of their own tribe. Presents and embassies solicited their friendship; and the fame of their arms often ensured victory to the party which they espoused. In the hour of danger it was shameful for the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions; shameful for the companions not to equal the valour of their chief. To survive his fall in battle was indelible infamy; to protect his person, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of their own exploits, were the most sacred of their duties. The chiefs combated for victory; the companions for the chief. The noblest warriors, whenever their native country was sunk in the laziness of peace, maintained their numerous bands in some distant scene of action, to exercise their restless spirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. Gifts worthy of soldiers; the warlike steed, the bloody and ever victorious lance, were the rewards which the companions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude plenty of his hospitable board was the only pay that

he could bestow, or *they* would accept. War, rapine, and the free-will offerings of his friends, supplied the materials of his munificence.

Such were the early and warlike associations of the barbarians; and as their conquests became more considerable, these also became more extensive and permanent. The advantages which more civilized countries perceive in an hereditary monarchy, most probably never presented themselves to their observation; but the fame of the father was respected in the son, and the hereditary virtues which attached them to a particular family, was insensibly converted into a claim of succession. In the fifth century, the different tribes of the Franks seated on the banks of the Rhine, all acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Merovingian race. These princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military command, and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity: Yet the influence of these long-haired kings was feeble and inadequate; affairs of importance were still determined by the whole community; and in war the martial youth followed the chieftain they approved, through choice and not constraint. When Clovis invaded the dominions of Syagrius, his own subjects amounted only to five thousand warriors; but his force was swelled by the voluntary accession of the neighbouring tribes, and each hardy adventurer asserted his share in the conquests to which his valour had contributed. The followers of that prince had plundered a church in the city of Rheims, and carried off, among other sacred utensils, a vase of extraordinary beauty. The bishop sent deputies to Clovis, beseeching him to restore the vase, that it might again be employed in the sacred services to which it had been consecrated. Clovis desired the deputies to follow him to Soissons, as the booty was to

be divided in that place, and promised, that if the lot should give him the disposal of the vase, that he would grant what the bishop desired. When he came to Soissons, and all the booty was placed in one great heap in the middle of the army, Clovis entreated, that before they made the division, they would give him that vase over and above his share. All appeared willing to gratify the king, and to comply with his request, when a fierce and haughty foldier lifted up his battle-axe, and striking the vase with the utmost violence, cried out with a loud voice, " You shall receive nothing here but that to which the lot gives you a right." The monarch repressed his rising indignation; and to avenge his insulted dignity, was compelled to stoop to the arts of patience and dissimulation. At the annual review of the month of March, when the arms of his warlike followers were diligently inspected, Clovis seized the pretence of military discipline; and as he levelled his battle-axe, or *francisca*, at the head of the devoted victim, the expression of " Remember the vase of Soissons," revealed the latent motives of the tardy chastisement.

The lands which had been wrested from the former possessors by the sword were equally divided, and probably in the same manner as the spoil and personal effects; and this new division of property gradually introduced a species of government formerly unknown, and now distinguished by the name of the Feudal System. Though the barbarous nations which framed it, settled in their new territories at different times, came from different countries, spoke various languages, and were under the command of separate leaders, the feudal policy and laws were established with little variation in every kingdom in Europe: This amazing uniformity has induced some authors to believe, that all these nations

tions, notwithstanding so many apparent circumstances of distinction, were originally the same people; but it may be ascribed with greater probability to the similar state of society and of manners to which they were accustomed in their native countries, and to the similar situation in which they found themselves, on taking possession of their new dominions.

The ground which the soldier thought requisite for his maintenance, or due to his valour, he seized by force, or acquired by lot, and retained without either homage or acknowledgment; he enjoyed it during his own life, and could dispose of it at pleasure, or transmit it as an inheritance to his children. This tenure was distinguished by the name of *allodial*, (compounded of the German particle *an* and *lot*, i. e. land obtained by lot) and implied the independence of the possessor, who held the entire property and dominion, without performing service, or owning any subordination to a superior lord. But as these new proprietors were exposed to the resentment and attacks of the ancient inhabitants, it became necessary that they should tacitly acquiesce in certain obligations for the protection of the community; and every freeman who refused or neglected to arm in the common cause, was liable to a considerable penalty. Towards the conclusion of the sixth century of the christian era, in the bloody discord of the Merovingian race, Chilperic, the first who ruled the kingdom of Soissons, and Childebert the Second, who had succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, exacted fines from certain persons who refused to accompany them in their expeditions. These fines could not be exacted while property continued in its first state, and military service was entirely voluntary; the nature of the tenure was insensibly changed, and military service was the condition

dition on which each person held his allodial lands.

Such then was the situation of the original adventurer, who had carved out his fortunes by the strength of his arm; but fidelity on one side, and gratitude on the other, cemented by the powerful hand of policy, soon established a new description of tenure, under the appellation of *beneficia*, or *benefices*. The king or leader of a tribe, whose wisdom or valour had directed or opened the road to conquest, was naturally gratified with the largest portion of the territory acquired. The land allotted to him he parcelled out to his adherents, binding them on whom it was bestowed to bear arms in his defence, and to follow his standard with a certain number of men. The example of the sovereign was imitated by his chief officers, who distributed also portions of their lands among their dependents, annexing to the grant the same conditions; and these benefices differed from the allodial lands, the latter binding the possessor only to serve the community, the former requiring him to arm in defence of the person from whom he had received the grant; who permitted him to enjoy it on the tacit condition of fidelity, and who might resume it at his pleasure.

The proprietor of the *allodial* lands was distinguished by the honorable appellation of *liber homo*, or *freeman*; and was opposed to the possessor of a benefice or fief, who was described by the servile denomination of *vassus*, or *vassal*. The former, it has already been observed, could only be summoned for the service of the state; and so jealous was the sovereign of this duty, that freemen were prohibited from entering into holy orders, unless they had previously obtained the royal consent. The reason assigned for this singular statute, proclaims the nature and resources of government: "For we are informed

“ informed that some do so, not so much out of
“ devotion, as to avoid the military service which
“ they are bound to perform.” It was natural that
a government, whose protection depended on the
number and spirit of her freemen, should cautiously
endeavour to restrain the rapid growth of a profes-
sion, the indiscreet exercise of which might impair
the strength, and loosen the foundation of the mo-
narchy.

But the claim of military service was all the free-
man contributed, and all the state demanded. The
imposition of taxes, under the accumulated weight of
which modern empires bend, he was happily exempt
from ; that burden was reserved for the unhappy race
of *bondsmen* and *villains*, the Gauls and Romans,
who had been subjected by the sword of the barba-
rians. According to the maxims of ancient war, the
conqueror became the lawful master of the enemy
whom he had subdued and spared ; and the decay of
the original inhabitants was supplied by the martial
enterprises of the Franks. The leader of a suc-
cessful expedition, in his triumphant return, drag-
ged after him a train of miserable captives ; and
those who were destitute of art, or charms, to mi-
nister to the pleasures of their lord, were condemned,
without the smallest regard to their former situation,
to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the vic-
torious barbarian : Their labours were rendered
more heavy by the addition of the *census*, or *impost* ;
and the king, the clergy, and the lords, raised regu-
lar taxes on the bondsmen of their respective demes-
nes. These taxes are to be considered as private, not
public obligations, and were peculiar to the bond-
men, from whom the *villains* only differed in paying
a fixed rent to their master for the land which they
cultivated, and retaining whatever remained of the
fruits of their industry as their own property. But
although

although this might prove in some measure an alleviation of their melancholy lot, they were, equally with the slaves, attached to the land, *adscripti villæ*, whence they derived their name, and were transferable with it.

This unhappy condition of men, who endured the weight without sharing the benefits of society, when the source of foreign supplies flowed in less abundance, was swelled through the more constant channel of domestic oppression. The policy of ancient Rome rendered it impossible for a citizen to lose or alienate his native freedom. When the imperial city was delivered to the licentious rage of Alaric, the Gothic king, the civil jurisprudence had qualified this law by a prudent and temporary regulation; and to preserve from the bloody caprice of the Goths, a train of useless captives whom none could legally purchase, it was ordained, that a Roman citizen should be compelled, by five years service, to discharge the price of his redemption. But the Franks despised the manners, and were ignorant of the laws of the Romans: The institutions which had prevailed through the wilds of Germany were frequently adopted, and generally diffused throughout their new settlements; and the subjects of the Merovingian kings claimed the fatal privilege of disposing of their personal freedom. Famine might prevail on the meagre wretch to purchase a continuance of life by all that can render it desirable; and the example of the poor was followed by the feeble, who, oppressed by the powerful possessors of lands, renounced their liberty, and became the voluntary slaves of the great. The former hoped for subsistence, the latter implored protection from their new masters. In an edict of Charles the bald, the humanity of that monarch commands that the freemen who had sold themselves, during a recent famine, should be ransomed and restored

stored to their former condition ; but this partial effort was more honourable to the prince than serviceable to the people ; and the greater part of the inhabitants of France was, at the commencement of the third race of kings, reduced to a state of abject slavery.

Before we proceed to consider the progressive change in the constitution, during the first and second race of the monarchs of France, it will, perhaps, gratify the curiosity of the reader to glance his eye over a short sketch of the laws and institutions of the barbarians, who subdued and possessed the wealthy provinces, of Gaul. The Salic laws are generally allowed to have been originally pronounced in the Latin tongue ; and the ignorance of the barbarians of Germany may reasonably induce us to conclude, that the system of jurisprudence, which was delivered in a foreign language, could not have been framed before they had burst the limits of their native forests. A series of fifty years is comprised, from the accession of Clodion to that of Clovis ; and during this period, it is more than probable, the Salic laws were first promulgated. But if the language in which they were delivered allows us to ascertain the æra of their birth, the features and temper of this celebrated code proclaim the country of the parent, and express the genuine spirit of the Franks. Four venerable chieftains, natives of four different cantons, whose claims have exercised the ingenuity of modern criticism, were appointed to compose the Salic laws ; and their labours were examined and approved in three successive assemblies of the people. The articles most incompatible with christianity were afterwards modified by the zeal and diligence of Clovis ; and one hundred years after the establishment of the French monarchy, they were finally revised and promulgated by Dagobert, the fourth in descent from the royal proselyte.

About

About the same time the customs of the *Ripuarrians* were carefully transcribed and published ; and these are generally supposed to have prevailed from the Carbonarian forest to the Rhine, while the *Salic* laws were obeyed from the same forest to the banks of the Loire.

The admirable simplicity and original spirit of the *Salic* and *Ripuarrian* laws, as well as those of the *Alemanni* and *Bavarians*, vassals of the victorious Franks, have challenged the praise, and commanded the respect of modern legislators : They were adapted to the wants and desires, the occupations and capacity of the barbarians ; yet the policy or indolence of the *Merovingian* princes, permitted each people, and each family of their empire, freely to enjoy their domestic institutions ; nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal toleration. The children embraced the law of their parents, the wife that of her husband, the freed-man that of his patron ; and in all causes where the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or the accuser, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant.

But if some indulgence was granted to the vanquished nations in the choice and maintenance of their private laws, much more was allowed in the public institutions to the haughty spirit of the barbarian victors. Their lofty notions of superiority over the degenerate Gauls and Romans were studiously encouraged ; their pious confidence in the interposition of heaven was devoutly cherished ; and their unshaken reliance on their own personal strength and valour was legally inculcated.

The independent warrior of Germany scorned to repress the sanguinary emotions of his indignation ; his hand was ever prompt to avenge the real or imaginary insult that rankled in his mind ; the feeble authority

authority of the magistrate might endeavour to propitiate, but could not even hope to extinguish his insatiate thirst for vengeance: Uncontrolled by the laws of his country, the offender had only to dread the resentment of the sons and kindred of him whom he had sacrificed; but the prince who could not punish, frequently interposed, to reconcile the contending parties; and he might applaud his powers of persuasion, if he could prevail on the one to pay, and the other to accept the moderate fine, which had been ascertained as the price of blood. A more rigorous sentence would have been rejected by the impatient Frank; yet still the equality of life was respected, and the assassination of a peasant, or prince, was attended with a similar penalty. But the pride of victory inspired the haughty breast of the ferocious invader with loftier pretensions: New distinctions were created; different degrees of guilt were established, according to the condition of the devoted victim; and the prostrate Roman was taught to revere the existence of the insolent barbarian as of higher value than his own.

The *antrustion*, *qui in truste dominicâ est*, who possessed the royal confidence, and whose name is expressive of the most illustrious of the Franks in birth or dignity, might consider himself secured from the fatal resentment of his adversary by the protecting penalty of six hundred pieces of gold; but a noble Roman, although he was admitted to partake of the hospitable and friendly board of the monarch, could be legally murdered for three hundred pieces. The life of a common Frank, or barbarian, was valued by the Salic law at two hundred pieces; but the death of a Roman proprietor might be expiated for one hundred, and that of a vassal for the trifling compensation of forty-five pieces of gold. The relative degrees of injuries were weighed

ed with the same scrupulous exactness: The Frank who was imprisoned by a Roman, could claim thirty pieces of gold; but fifteen were deemed sufficient to atone for the injustice of the Frank, who had wantonly confined a Roman. It is with astonishment that we review, in these criminal proceedings, the cool and deliberate injustice of the legislators, who could thus arbitrarily appreciate the lives of the people they had vanquished; and, after subduing them by their arms, studiously oppress them by the iron rule of their laws. But the policy of the barbarians was like their limbs, coarse and masculine; the fastidious Frank was wrapt up in the contemplation of his own valour; and, incapable of reflection, he knew not how to separate the worth of the individual from the degeneracy of the community which he had enslaved.

The *Ripuarian*, and in some instances the *Salic* laws, proclaimed the impatient spirit of those who composed them. The restless barbarian was but ill qualified for the patient administration of justice; and the illiterate chieftain, rejecting a tedious investigation of the truth, allowed the accused to clear himself by his own oath, and the concurring oaths of a certain number of his friends. These *compurgators*, such was their descriptive name, were multiplied according to the nature of the accusation; and the assassin, or incendiary, might retire with impunity, if he could procure seventy-two fearless confederates, stedfastly to swear that he was innocent of the crime alleged. But when the chastity of Fredegonde, the widow of Chilperic, of Soissons, was impeached, and the legitimate birth of her son was questioned, the queen herself not only swore that the child was the offspring of her deceased husband, but three holy bishops, and three hundred gallant nobles, deposed, upon oath, that she had sworn truly: Yet history al-

lows

lows us still to suspect the fidelity of the queen to the bed of her consort; and the conduct of Fredegonde has furnished an ample subject for the pen of scandal. Even the indolence of the barbarian magistrate was vanquished by a series of unblushing perjuries; and from the evidence of man, the unhappy object of accusation was commanded to appeal to the judgment of God. The person who was arraigned, to justify his innocence, was required to plunge his arm in boiling water, to lift a red-hot iron, to walk bare-foot over burning plough-shares, or to submit to some other experiment, equally perilous and formidable. The interposition of heaven, it was expected, would change the nature of the elements; and these extraordinary trials were so capriciously contrived, that guilt in some cases, and innocence in others, could not be proved without a miracle. The devouring rage of fire, it was presumed, *could* not affect the spotless; the pure element of water *would* not, it was determined, receive into its bosom the polluted. The atrocious criminal, who sunk, was eagerly saved from the wave, and acquitted; but the life and reputation of the innocent victim was abandoned, without pity, to the fury of the flames: Credulity was the parent of fraud; the credit of the ordeal was supported by a long succession of successful impostures; and the turbulent Frank, who rejected the decision of the magistrate, patiently acquiesced in the *judgment of God*.

A nation of warriors, fraught with lofty notions of honour and hereditary valour, believed the brave man ought never to be condemned, and the coward ought never to be acquitted. As a people, the high spirited Germans had maintained in many a bloody field their martial reputation and haughty independence: The same confidence, with which they asserted the glory and freedom of their country, they displayed

played in vindicating their private conduct from the stain of reproach. Every man was the guardian of his own honour, and of his own life; and the justice of his cause, and his future character, depended on his own personal prowess. This mode of decision was considered accordingly as one of the happiest efforts of policy; and as soon as it was introduced, all the forms of trial by fire or water, and other superstitious experiments, fell into disuse, or were employed only in controversies between persons of inferior rank. The Salic laws for some time rejected the sanguinary and doubtful expedient; but it was early entertained and approved by the Ripuarian Franks; and Gundobald, king of Burgundy, condescended to answer the doubts and objections of the bishop Avitus. "Is it not true," said he, "that the event of national wars, and private combats, is directed by the judgment of God, and that his providence awards the victory to the juster cause?" However ridiculous this argument may appear, it was well adapted to an ignorant and superstitious age; but an edict of the same monarch reveals a more prudent and probable reason for the countenance he afforded to this sanguinary practice: "It is to prevent our subjects from attesting on oath, what they sometimes are ignorant of, and what they frequently know to be false." The same remedy was rapidly applied in every kingdom to the same evil; the custom soon extended from Burgundy throughout Europe, and was successfully propagated in every monarchy, from Sicily to the Baltic. It was authorised by Charlemagne and Lewis le Debonnaire; and before the end of the Carlovingian race, it received the sanction of Otho the Second, emperor of Germany. During ten successive centuries it withstood the ineffectual censures of saints, of popes, and of synods; and the feeble and enervated citizen was

was oppressed in the unequal conflict by the strength and skill of the martial barbarian.

The solemnities of a judicial combat were such as might naturally be expected in a formal appeal to God, and in the final decision of questions of the highest moment. The accuser, in the presence of the judge, asserted that the person whom he chose to impeach had been guilty of a specified crime; the accused made answer that he lied, and the judge gave orders that they should maintain the justice of their cause by arms. Before the combatants engaged, their relations were commanded to retire; silence was enjoined by the magistrate; and the most severe penalties prohibited the spectators from offering any assistance to either of the contending parties: The lists were properly and carefully guarded by the civil power; the trumpet sounded; and the champion who came off victorious was pronounced acquitted by the *judgment of God*. Ecclesiastics, women, and minors, who could not with decency or justice be compelled to take up arms, or to maintain their own cause, were forced to entrust their lives and reputations to those whom they could engage to enter the lists in their defence. The first might depend upon the ready zeal of a superstitious age; the personal charms of the second might probably animate the coldest warrior; but the third could only hope for protection from the influence of interest. The principals on these occasions were placed where they could not behold the battle; each was bound with the cord destined for his execution if his champion was overcome; and the champion himself, that he might engage with more obstinacy in the cause he espoused, atoned for his defeat by the loss of his hand.

At the commencement of the third race, even the judges themselves were subject to these judicial combats; their opinions might be interrupted by the
contending

contending parties, and they might be challenged to defend the integrity of their decisions by arms. The honour of the magistrate was to be vindicated in a field of blood. If his authority was contemned, he insisted on satisfaction with his sword; and the words in which he demanded it were few and peremptory: "I sent for thee, and thou didst not come; I demand therefore satisfaction for this thy contempt." The lists were accordingly prepared, and the breast of the magistrate was exposed to the lance of the culprit. To use the words of an elegant and profound Historian, "By this barbarous custom the natural course of proceeding, both in civil and criminal questions was entirely perverted. Force usurped the place of equity in courts of judicature, and justice was banished from her proper mansion. Discernment, learning, and integrity, were qualities less necessary to a judge, than personal strength and dexterity in the use of arms. Daring courage and superior vigour or address were of more moment towards securing the favourable issue of a suit, than the equity of a cause, or the clearness of the evidence." Men of course applied themselves to cultivate the talents which they found to be of the greatest utility. As strength of body and address in arms were no less requisite in those lists which they were obliged to enter, in defence of their private rights, than in the field of battle where they met the enemies of their country, it became the great object of education, as well as the chief employment of life, to acquire these martial accomplishments. The administration of justice, instead of accustoming men to listen to the voice of equity, or to reverence the decisions of law, added to the ferocity of their manners, and taught them to consider force as the great arbiter of right and wrong.

The

The preceding pages may impress the reader with the temper and manners of the conquerors of Gaul, from their customs and institutions ; one article of the Salic law still demands our attention : “ No part “ of the Salic lands shall be inherited by a woman ; “ but being acquired by the males, male *children* “ only shall be capable of succeeding.” Yet this article only expressed that the males shall succeed to the lands of their *father* ; but in five articles, which precede this, it is positively declared, that if a man dies without *issue*, 1. His father *or* his mother shall succeed him. 2. If he has neither father nor mother, the patrimony shall pass to his brother *or* *sister*. 3. If he has neither brother nor sister, the *sister* of his *mother* may claim his estate. 4. If his mother has no sister, the next right is assigned to the *sister* of his father ; and, 5. If his father has no sister, the nearest relation by the male side shall succeed. Thus, in the third and fourth articles, a direct preference is given to the females over the males, and particularly in the third article the sister of the mother is entitled to succeed in prejudice to the sister of the father. Even the fifth article, which decrees that after the father’s sister, the inheritance should pass to the nearest male relation, is immediately afterwards limited ; and it is declared, that if this relation is beyond the fifth degree, the regulation ceases, and the female may again assert the claim of proximity of blood. Yet, although the Salic law can be accused of partiality to the males in one instance alone, and in regulating the succession, prefers the sons only to the daughters, this has undoubtedly been extended to the exclusion of females from the throne of France ; and the natural rights of the more amiable sex have been thrust aside by the arm of the stronger. The assertion is corroborated by a transient glance of the laws of the neighbouring barbarians : The Bur-

gundians, equally with the Salians, precluded daughters from inheriting the land in conjunction with their brothers, and they were equally debarred from ascending the throne. The Visigoths, with superior liberality, allowed the claim of the daughter equally with that of the son; regulation of private property was extended to public authority; and the sceptre of the Visigoths might be grasped by a female hand. Among the Lombards, Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald, king of Bavaria, and the widow of Autharis, the king of Lombardy, was permitted to fill the throne with the person on whom she bestowed her hand; and Amalasontha, after the death of her son Athalaric, ruled with absolute sway the kingdom of the Ostrogoths; and when she consented to divide her throne, her choice was determined by the descent of Theodatus from the princess Amalafreda.

From this hasty review of the laws and customs of the Franks and barbarians, we return once more to the political constitution, the progressive history of which is the principal object of our enquiries. The *freeman*, conscious of his haughty independence, might, in the annual assemblies of the people, controul or insult the feeble authority of the sovereign; but the *vassal* respected the voice of his benefactor, and readily obeyed the hand which had bestowed on him his benefice, and which could resume it at pleasure. The lands originally assigned to the monarch were proportionably more extensive than those of his nobles: His vassals were more numerous, and his influence consequently superior; but the precarious tenure which depended on the caprice of another, did not long satisfy those who enjoyed it; and by various means the vassals gradually obtained a confirmation of their benefices during life. This practice appears first to have been introduced by Charles Martel; but it was not till his descendants had ascended the

the throne, that the benefices were converted into hereditary fiefs, and the property taken out of the hands of the lord, and lodged in those of the vassal.

The influence of the crown was checked and diminished by this important change; the prerogative of the monarch had derived some support from his liberality; the wealth of the Merovingian princes consisted in their extensive domains, the prize of their martial labours; and one hundred and sixty royal mansions, or farms, appear to have been scattered through the provinces occupied by the Franks: This ample patrimony was appropriated to supply the hospitality of Clovis and his successors, and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions. But as soon as the rapacious and independent nobles had established the perpetual property and hereditary succession of their benefices, a new order of tyrants arose in the provinces, who under the appellation of *seniors*, or lords, oppressed the subject, and insulted the sovereign. Secure of personal independence, the powerful chiefs neglected the labours of government; the national council was rarely summoned; and when summoned, more rarely attended; and the monarchy was left without any regular establishment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The successors of Clovis, wanted resolution to assume, or strength to exercise the legislative and executive powers which the people had abdicated: The royal prerogative was distinguished only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love of freedom was reduced among the licentious Franks to a contempt of order, and a desire of impunity.

The same spirit of encroachment which rendered fiefs hereditary, excited the insatiate nobles to extort from their sovereigns hereditary offices and honours; so solicitous were the monarchs to guard against this

spirit of usurpation, and so well apprised were they of the consequences, that, on some occasions, they obliged the person whom they promoted to any office of dignity, to grant an obligation, that neither they nor their heirs should claim it as belonging to them by hereditary right. This feeble barrier was soon trampled on by a daring and powerful nobility; a new change in government was introduced by this revolution in property; the extensive possessions of the great vassals of the crown were gradually accompanied by a proportional degree of power; they depressed the jurisdiction of the king, and overwhelmed the privileges of the people; and the progress of feudal acquisitions distinctly marks the different periods of the constitution, and the successive political influence of the king and the people.

The first princes of the Merovingian race had regarded, with an eye of suspicion, the aggrandisement of their nobles, and had watched their growing greatness with a commendable jealousy; their prudent precautions had annually changed the governors of the provinces or districts; and the regulations which sagacity had dictated, yielded only to the persuasive voice of immediate interest, and the fatal spirit of avarice. In the reign of Gontram, king of Burgundy, Peonius, count or governor of Auxerre; employed his son to purchase the continuance of his authority; the son betrayed the trust, and employed the money to procure the appointment for himself: But the transaction proclaims the corruption of the times, and the narrow policy of the sordid Monarch, whose successor, Clotaire the Second, effaced the remembrance of the indiscretion by a still greater, and conferred on Warnacharius, the mayor of Burgundy, his office for life. We revere the piety of the king, who respected the oath which distress had extorted; but the successors of Clotaire had reason to regret the
improvident

improvident liberality which so materially injured, and visibly impaired the royal dignity.

The king had established the office of mayor for life; and the privilege of bestowing that important appointment was claimed by the people. On the death of Warnacharius, Clotaire demanded of the assembly, whom he should raise to the formidable trust; but the voice of the council waved the dangerous election, and declared its implicit confidence in the sole administration of the monarch. His son Dagobert succeeded with his throne to his popularity; during the successive reigns of these two princes the regal authority was preserved pure and undiminished; nor was the dignity of the throne insulted by the presence of a rival subject. But on the death of Dagobert the appointment of mayor was again revived; and in a short time the influence of these powerful ministers overshadowed that of the crown. The nation, jealous of royal and hereditary power, was ready to commit the reins of government to the creature of their own favour, whose fortune was founded on popular esteem, and whose authority might be limited by the public distrust.

The arm of the mayor was soon stretched from the palace to the camp; the command of the armies, the disposal of the revenues, the distribution of the fiefs, or benefices, were vested in the same person; and the civil and military administration was divided from the tottering throne. The Franks were accustomed in their native barbarism to revere the illustrious birth of their princes, the valour and genius of their generals; the former were hereditary, the latter elective; and the Merovingian kings, and these aspiring mayors, perpetuated in Gaul a system which had originated in the wilds of Germany. It was impossible that a government formed of such discordant materials should long subsist; the least spark was sufficient

cient to kindle the combustible matter ; and the jealousy of the monarch, or the ambition of the minister, sprung the fatal mine : A series of bloody wars was closed by the victories of Pepin, duke of Austrasia, and his illegitimate son, Charles Martel. The reins of government dropped from the feeble hands of the Merovingian successors of Clovis : The phantom of royalty might, for some time, serve to amuse, or delude the people ; but even that vanished at length : The manly spirit of Pepin, surnamed the Short, scorned even the shadow of a master ; under his administration the Merovingian race was extinguished ; and with the approbation of the people, the support of the nobles, and the concurrence of the Roman pontiff, the successful mayor ascended the throne, and transferred the sceptre of France to a new dynasty.

The holy decision of pope Zachary dissolved the allegiance of the Franks to the posterity of Clovis, and limited the future choice of the nation to the Carolingian race ; nor had the inferior clergy been less zealous in the cause of Pepin, than the representative of St. Peter ; the barbarians had early found the ministers of the gospel possessed of considerable wealth and power ; the new profelytes to the Christian religion, revered in his chosen servants, the God they adored ; but it is possible the monarch beheld their rising greatness with a different eye from his subjects, and there is still extant a speech of Chilperic, grandson of Clovis, in which he complained that the landed property was monopolized by the church : " Our exchequer," said he, " is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the clergy ; none reign now but bishops, who live in grandeur while ours is eclipsed." Yet the jealousy of the king was not able to stem the torrent ; and the stream of ecclesiastical wealth was swelled by the liberality

liberality of Pepin the Fat. Through successive reigns it continually increased in its course, and though checked for a moment by the powerful hand of Charles Martel, yet it soon regained its force, and threatened at length to overwhelm the authority of the people and the crown. The persons of the clergy were already deemed sacred as their function; and it would have been considered as impious to subject them to the same jurisdiction as the laity; their attention to spiritual, did not allow them to neglect their temporal, concerns; and they improved the credulity of a superstitious age to the establishment of courts, in which every question that regarded their own character and property was tried; the fiefs which had been seized by Charles Martel were compensated for by the pious generosity of Pepin the Short, and the establishment of tythes in the subsequent reign of Charlemagne. The esteem of the Imperial votary bestowed on them that civil jurisdiction and temporal dominion, which the piety of his son Lewis might confirm, but his experience must have disapproved, through the vicissitudes of a long and turbulent reign.

The decision of the Roman pontiff had transferred the royal title to Pepin, and the name of king was united to the highest office of the state; but although the Franks were commanded, under the penalty of interdiction, to perpetuate the regal authority in his family, they were indulged with the liberty of choosing the most worthy or most popular of his race. This elective right is confirmed by the division of the empire which Charlemagne made among his three children. After he had finally allotted to each his respective inheritance, he adds, "that if one of the
" three brothers should have a son whom the people
" are willing to choose as a fit person to succeed to
" his father's kingdom, his uncles shall consent to
" it."

“ it.” A similar regulation marks, in the assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, the partition of the dominions of Lewis le Debonaire, among his children, Pepin, Lewis, and Charles ; and the important privilege of the people is clearly ascertained by the coronation oath of Lewis the Stammerer : “ I, Lewis, by the “ Divine Mercy, and by the *people's election*, appointed king.” And from the accession of the second race, France may be considered as changed from a hereditary into an elective monarchy.

The authority of the annual assemblies, at the commencement of the second dynasty, was still vigorous and unimpaired ; their right of determining which of the royal family should be placed upon the throne has already been noticed ; they were regularly assembled and consulted in affairs of the greatest importance ; and without their consent no law was passed, and no new tax levied ; even the imperial fortune of Charlemagne acknowledged the constitutional authority of the national council ; his penetrating mind carefully balanced every order of the state, and remained perfect master of them all ; and his commanding genius united the whole in one grand political system : But his death dissolved the confederacy ; his son succeeded to the unwieldy empire, with a temper better suited to a convent than a palace ; his clemency encouraged the turbulent spirit of the nobles ; his piety nourished the holy ambition of the clergy. His dominions, on his decease, were disputed with the inveteracy of fraternal hatred ; and the death of one hundred thousand French in the battle of Fontenoy, loosened the very foundations of the monarchy : The vassals of the crown, under the reign of Charlemagne, had been compelled, in case of any war, to repair to the standard of their prince ; but the nobles of France regarded with disgust the bloody field of civil commotion ; and the rival bro-
thers

thers were compelled to soothe their indignation, by limiting the claim of service to the exigency of defensive war. About the same period, a new regulation of Charles the Bald, ordained that the son should succeed to the fief or government of his father; and the source of power, by the imprudence of that prince, was again removed at a greater distance from the throne.

From this æra is to be dated the rapid decline of the race of Charlemagne; the Normans and Saracens afflicted with incessant invasions the unhappy kingdom; and the vassals of the crown, who should have opposed them, assumed the haughty tone of independence: The sovereign no longer possessed any direct authority; his dependents were few, while those of his nobles were daring and numerous: The royal jurisdiction was confined to the cities or districts of Rheims and Laon; and the powerful barons derided his summons, and invaded his prerogative. Each within his own diocese assumed those privileges which ought to have been possessed by the king alone: From the gates of his castle the lordly chief issued with a train of fearless followers, and ravaged and oppressed the country round. The count, whose influence extended over a wider space, maintained in his territory a more ample and more regular authority; he dispensed justice, coined money, and waged war at pleasure; and if ever he joined the royal standard, it was to gratify, under the name of his sovereign, his own resentment, or to pursue his own interest, in the reduction of some rival vassal.

The constitution was rent between the extremes of anarchy and despotism; and the eyes and hopes of an harrassed people were turned on Hugh Capet, duke of France. The dying bequest of the crown, from the feeble Lewis the Fifth, had ever been received with just suspicion; nor could a monarch, whose

whose own authority was elective, transfer the power he was entrusted with, or in the last moments of an unfortunate reign, command the voice of the nation. The preference of Hugh Capet to fill the throne of France, was derived from a different source than the expiring breath of regal imbecility; his grandfather had tasted of royalty, and the glory of his father was still fresh in the minds of his friends and adherents; he himself possessed the important cities of Paris and Orleans, which commanded the navigation of the Seine and the Loire, and could alone check the piratical depredations of the Normans; affection and interest combined to direct the choice of the nation, and the crown, which in the election of Pepin was annexed to the greatest office, was, in the person of Hugh Capet, annexed to the greatest *feif*.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Hugh Capet to the Throne of France. — Charles, Duke of Lorrain, asserts his Claim; — He is defeated and taken Prisoner. — Death of Hugh. — Successive Reigns of his Son and Grandson, Robert the First, and Henry the First. — William, surnamed the Bastard, establishes his Authority over Normandy.

THE hand of death had torn the diadem from the temples of the feeble Lewis, and placed it on the prudent brows of Capet: Yet one competitor appeared to dispute the invaluable acquisition; and the arm of Charles, duke of ^{A. D. 987.} Lorrain, and uncle to the deceased king, was stretched out to intercept the royal prize. The necessities of the state induced a people, oppressed by innumerable

able calamities, to prefer the merit and power of Hugh Capet to the last of the male line of Charlemagne. The election of the duke of France annexed to the crown the fertile and wealthy dioceses of Paris and Orleans; to his own possessions might be added his splendid and advantageous connections; his brother Henry occupied the rich duchy of Burgundy; and his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, was attached to his interest by the ties of friendship as well as of marriage; while Charles, independent of his unpopular manners, was doomed to experience the implacable resentment of the dowager queen, Emma; who, with unceasing hatred, pursued the slanderer of her reputation, and sought to avenge the injurious rumour which named her as the poisoner of her husband.

The precautions of the duke of France were visible in the rapid measures he adopted. In a few days after the decease of Lewis he was proclaimed king at Nojon, and was solemnly crowned at 3d. July. Rheims; yet several of the powerful nobles maintained an haughty silence, and their sullen reserve and absence from the coronation betrayed their envious disgust at the elevation of their late equal. Had activity been among the qualities of the duke of Lorrain, he might probably have established his plausible pretensions; but it was the misfortune of that prince to be characterized by a spirit of procrastination; and though neither deficient in courage or capacity when once roused to arms, he continued to deliberate when he ought to have acted, and suffered his rival to take the field before he erected the standard of opposition, and collected his scattered partizans. While his irresolution cooled the flame of his open, and extinguished the favourable warmth of his secret friends, the king, impatient of resistance, and eager to embrace the auspicious

cious moment, prepared with a numerous force to humble those lords who had refused to yield him homage. William, duke of Guienne, or, as he is sometimes stiled, of Aquitaine, was the most considerable among the vassals of the crown who rejected the authority of their new sovereign; the royal army entered the territory of the contumacious chief, and invested the city of Poitiers; but the king was recalled from this enterprize by the intelligence, that the duke of Lorrain, with the assistance of Herbert, count of Troyes, whose daughter he had married, had levied a formidable force in Champagne, and menaced his defenceless dominions. To protect his unguarded subjects, and to engage the rival of his crown, Hugh hastily raised the siege of Poitiers, and by forced marches pressed towards the banks of the Loire; but his retreat was harrassed by the hostile attacks of the duke of Guienne; and that nobleman was at length encouraged by the number of his troops to encounter in a decisive field the arms of his sovereign. The conflict was short and bloody; and the defeat of the duke was followed by his immediate submission. Hugh seized the favourable hour of victory; and to secure the throne to his family, proposed, in an assembly of the nobles, the association of his son Robert: His success ensured the approbation of the barons, humbled by the chastisement of the duke of Guienne; and Robert, at Orleans, received the crown from the hands of the archbishop of Sens.

¹ Jan.
A. D. 988.

The prudence of Hugh was incessantly displayed in the measures he pursued; but the efforts of his rival compelled him also to exert his valour. Charles had improved the moments of absence, and with the city of Laon had possessed himself of the person of his inveterate enemy, the queen dowager Emma. On the approach

A. D.
989, 991.

proach of Hugh he was reduced to retire within the walls of his new acquisition; and the activity of the monarch was stimulated by the importance of the prize: Laon was closely invested on every side; yet in a successful sally of the besieged, a considerable detachment of the royal army was destroyed; and the king endured the mortification of relinquishing the hopeless enterprise. Even his policy on this occasion served only to augment his distress; the archbishopric of Rheims was offered by Hugh, and accepted by Arnold, the nephew of Charles, and the illegitimate son of his brother Lothaire, as the price of his desertion; but the monarch was stained with the perfidy of the intrigue without reaping the benefit. Arnold had scarce occupied the see and city of Rheims, before he betrayed the gates to the duke of Lorraine; and the thin veil with which he affected to conceal his double treachery, by a pretended captivity, was renounced, to appear in arms at the head of his uncle's troops.

With a numerous army Hugh directed his march towards, and threatened the revolted city; but when he had diverted the attention of his rival to the defence of Rheims, he suddenly changed the object of his enterprise, and rapidly advanced to Laon. He had already secured in his interest the bishop of that place, who had at first been imprisoned as the paramour of Emma, and was now admitted into the confidence of Charles. The holy prelate hesitated not to imitate the example of his superior the archbishop of Rheims; the city of Laon was surprised by his intelligence, and the arms of Hugh; the duke of Lorraine, with his consort and the archbishop of Rheims, was involved in the general captivity; the two former were dismissed to end their days in an easy confinement in the city of Orleans; their son was allowed to enjoy the duchy of Lorraine; and
his

his death without a son terminated the male line of Charlemagne.

But the perfidy of Arnold called for more exemplary punishment. The priest who opened the gates of Rheims betrayed his trust, and acknowledged the orders he had received from the archbishop. That prelate, by the decree of a council in which the archbishop of Sens presided, was reluctantly condemned ; and the favourable inclinations of the president and several other members toward him, were rendered ineffectual by a voluntary subscription to his own confession and degradation : The vacant see was bestowed on Gerbert, a monk of Rheims, celebrated in those days of ignorance for his learning ; but the court of Rome resented with indignation the proceedings which had been adopted without her concurrence. The holy pride of pope John the Fifteenth, dispatched into France a legate, commissioned to revise the sentence. A second council was held at Rheims, and the papal power was gratified by the deposition of Gerbert, and the restoration of Arnold. Yet the guilt of that prelate was not even attempted to be effaced ; and he was re-seated on the archiepiscopal throne, because he had been compelled to descend from it without a sanction of the holy see. This decree added little to the comforts of Arnold ; and Hugh, more apprehensive of his intrigues than the power of the pope, still detained him prisoner.

The authority of the king of France over a turbulent nobility was feeble and precarious ; his victory

A. D. 991. 997. near Poitiers had for a moment checked their insolence, but it was soon displayed again in a series of domestic

wars and bloody commotions. The count of Anjou, a vassal of the crown, had in a private quarrel besieged the city of Tours ; the royal mandate commanded

manded him to relinquish the lawless enterprise; his haughty refusal provoked the messenger to the insulting question of "Who made *him* a count?" The indignant answer proclaims the independent spirit of the barons: "Tell your master, the same who made *him* a king." The monarch, sensible of his delicate situation, and hopeless of repressing the daring and factious chieftains, suffered them to waste their strength in mutual hostilities, and remained an unconcerned spectator of their sanguinary feuds; yet his own measures were imperceptibly directed to augment the power of the crown. Paris, under his reign, became the seat of government; and under pretence of curbing the incursions of the Normans, he fortified several advantageous stations, and established a magazine of arms at Abbeville: The tranquillity in which he passed the rest of his reign must be ascribed to the prudence of his conduct; and near ten years after he ascended the throne of France, and in the fifty-seventh year of his age, he expired in his capital, leaving his dominions in perfect quiet, and his son in peaceable possession of the crown.

The character of Hugh Capet is not marked with those commanding features which generally distinguish the founder of a new dynasty; but his policy was suited to the times in which he lived, and his moderation disarmed the jealousy of his powerful peers. Modest in his apparel, abstemious in his diet, and simple in his manners, he enjoyed in a palace the comforts of domestic life; and his private happiness was secured by the chaste virtues and amiable qualities of his consort Adelaide. From the moment that he associated his son to the regal authority, he abstained himself from the use of the ensigns of royalty; and if some praise is due to the greatness of mind which scorned the pageantry of power, more will always be ascribed to the clemency of a prince
who

who transferred to his family a sceptre unstained with blood, and who in an age of violence preserved the reputation of unblemished humanity.

Few princes ever commenced their reign with more natural advantages than Robert. At A D 996. the decease of his father he was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the graces of his mind and body have been equally celebrated by the pen of the historian. The people had already been accustomed to respect him as their monarch; and the prudent maxims of his predecessor were imprinted on his mind, and adopted with more than filial veneration. Yet the rising sun of his grandeur was darkened by the clouds of private and public anxiety, and he was doomed to regret the spiritual dominion of the Roman pontiff, and the inflexible despotism of the representatives of St. Peter, the source of so much misery to himself and his successors. During his father's life he had contracted a marriage with Bertha, the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy, and the widow of Eudes, count of Blois. But the count of Blois was unfortunately related to Hugh Capet, and Robert himself had stood sponsor to one of that nobleman's children. Either of these reasons was sufficient to awaken the convenient conscience of pope Gregory the Fifth. That prelate, the nephew of Otho the Third, emperor of Germany, affected to maintain and augment the dignity of the holy see. In vain did the king of France endeavour to soothe him by submission; the thunders of the vatican were continually pointed against the inauspicious nuptials, and although suspended, could not be averted by the deposition of Gerbert, and the restoration of Arnold to the archiepiscopal throne of Rheims. Without appeasing the pope he ensured the resentment of Gerbert, who, deprived of his see, threw himself into the arms of Otho, was created

ated archbishop of Ravenna, and assisted at a council which annulled the marriage between Robert and Bertha. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced; and the monarch, after an ineffectual struggle, was compelled by the clamours of his subjects to renounce the partner of his bed, to whom his attachment was the more honourable, as the match was rather suggested by interest than affection: Yet Bertha, without youth or beauty, preserved an influence over the mind of her husband, and, deprived of her crown, retained the esteem and admiration of those who once had revered her as their queen.

The death of pope Gregory the Fifth contributed but little to alleviate the distress of Robert; Gerbert was raised from the see of Ravenna to the apostolical chair; and the Roman pontiff, though he confirmed Arnold in the possession of the archbishopric of Rheims, refused to revoke the proceedings of his predecessor; while Robert, desirous of heirs, espoused Constance, the daughter of William, count of Arles. The personal charms of the princess A. D. 998. had inflamed the passions of the king; but it was the misfortune of this prince scarce to taste of domestic happiness. His first wife, the daughter of Berenger, king of Italy, and the widow of Arnold, count of Flanders, was early ravished from him by death. The fate of Bertha has been already described; and the king, after separating from a wife whom he wished to retain, was now compelled to retain a wife from whom he wished to separate. The beauty of Constance concealed a mind haughty, vain, and capricious; and the flame that was kindled by her eyes was extinguished by her insolence and avarice.

For twelve years the subjects of France had enjoyed a state of uninterrupted and unwonted tranquillity; but the death of Henry, duke of Burgundy, and the last brother of Hugh Capet, was the signal for war. His wealthy dominions were disputed by Eudes, his natural son, and to whom he had bequeathed the country of Beauvois; by Otho William, surnamed the *Stranger*, the son of his widow by her first marriage, and whose claim was supported by a fictitious adoption of the late duke; and by Robert the king of France, who urged his lawful succession to the inheritance of his deceased uncle. The different pretensions of the competitors could only be decided by arms; but the forces of Robert were strengthened by the troops of his kinsman, the duke of Normandy. Though repulied in his first attempt on Auxerre, that town afterwards capitulated; its example was followed by Sens; and the walls of Avalon are reported miraculously to have fallen before the victor. Yet even the most credulous must allow that the cruelty of the monarch ill deserved the interposition of Divine Providence; the favour of heaven was ill repaid by the inhumanity of the king; and the wretched inhabitants were doomed to expiate their resistance by exile and death. Six years were consumed in the gradual reduction of Burgundy; Otho William was compelled to abandon his vain hopes, and to relinquish whatever places he had occupied: Eudes acquiesced in the peaceable enjoyment of the country of Beauvois; and Robert, to gratify the Burgundians, desirous of an independent prince, and to soothe his own vassals, jealous of their power in the aggrandizement of the crown, bestowed the duchy on, and invested his son Henry with, the title of duke of Burgundy.

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The calamities of a distant war were scarce felt by the French ; but it was with horror they beheld the ravages of a long and destructive famine : For five successive years the unhappy people groaned beneath that scourge of human nature ; and although the computation, that one-third of the inhabitants of France perished, may be swelled beyond the bounds of truth or probability, it is sufficient to prove the uncommon violence with which it raged, and the devastations that it made. The monarch himself was indeed exempted from the immediate danger of his subjects ; but the sense of personal security was overwhelmed by the public distress, and Robert was doomed to lament his ineffectual efforts to relieve the misery of his people.

The palace, inaccessible to the assaults of famine, was pervaded by domestic strife and contention ; and Robert, to soothe the impatient temper of his consort, was compelled, against the advice of his ministers, to associate to the throne his eldest son Hugh. That unprincipled woman had not hesitated to employ against the counsellors who dissuaded him, the dagger of assassination ; and the king beheld, even in the royal presence, a faithful servant atone with his life for his imprudent integrity. Yet Hugh himself was not long invested with the regal dignity before he revolted against the over-bearing disposition of his mother ; accompanied by a band of nobles, attached to him by a parity of years and similarity of temper, he appeared in arms : The queen would willingly have employed force to reduce him ; but the king preferred the more lenient mode of remonstrance, and reclaimed a prince who never afterwards transgressed the duty he owed to his parent and his sovereign.

The character of Robert was stamped by the honourable testimony of Henry, king of Germany, and his discontented subjects, the nobles of Lorrain : These agreed to refer their differences to the determination of the king of France ; an interview between the two monarchs, on the banks of the Meuse, adjusted the terms of reconciliation, and was concluded with mutual, and, perhaps, sincere professions of esteem : The more powerful motive of interest bound them in a confederacy against the arrogance of pope Boniface the Eighth ; a seasonable death probably saved the Roman pontiff from the mortification of submission ; and the year following was distinguished by the decease of Henry. The nobles of Italy, tired of a long succession of German emperors, offered the imperial dignity to Robert ; but the splendid proposal, which the prudence and moderation of the king of France declined, was hastily and improvidently accepted by William, duke of Guienne ; that powerful noble was soon reduced to lament his own indiscretion, and the fickle disposition of the Italians. On the appearance of Conrad, who had succeeded to the throne of Germany, the natives of Italy, with their accustomed levity, flocked to his banner ; the imperial crown was placed on his head by pope John the Nineteenth, and William was forced to retire before the arms of his successful competitor.

Whatever satisfaction Robert might derive from the situation of public affairs, was continually embittered by a series of domestic discord and calamity : His feelings, as a parent, were wounded by the premature death of his eldest son Hugh, with whom he had divided the regal title, and whose virtues he was acquainted with and esteemed ; his happiness, as a husband, was continually

nally broken by the imperious disposition of his consort. On the death of Hugh it was natural that he should associate his next son, Henry, to the dignity which he had imparted to his deceased brother ; but the justice of this nomination was opposed with indecent warmth and obstinacy by Constance ; and her partiality for her younger son, Robert, agitated the court with all the fury of contending factions. Yet the secret art of intrigue, the open violence of the queen, in vain assailed the inflexible integrity of the king ; the rights of primogeniture were respected ; in an assembly at Rheims, Henry received the crown from the impartial justice of his father ; and Robert, his younger brother, refusing to join in the daring measures of Constance, became equally the object of her hatred and persecution.

The two princes, harrassed by the incessant enmity of their mother, retired from court, and entered into an alliance for their mutual defence ; the eldest possessed himself of the castle of Dreux, the younger occupied the city of Avalon, in the duchy of Burgundy. The unnatural passions of a female had already kindled the torch of civil commotion, and the gloomy flame was beheld with horror throughout the kingdom of France : At the head of a numerous army Robert advanced to reduce his revolted sons ; but his march was interrupted by the remonstrances of William, abbot of St. Benigne ; the affectionate parent readily listened to the representations of the pious priest ; he was soon convinced that the princes, instead of arming against his authority, sought only protection against the active hatred of their mother. The moment of explanation was that of submission on one side, and pardon on the other ; the sons were again restored to the confidence of their father, and the force which had been assembled to extinguish the dissensions

diffentions of his family, was happily employed by Robert in humbling the haughty nobles of Burgundy, who had presumed to withhold the homage due to their sovereign.

A reign of almost incessant prosperity, a life of successive domestic misery, were closed by the expedition into Burgundy; and three and thirty years from his ascending the throne, and in the sixtieth year of his age, Robert expired at Melun, A. D. 1031. amidst the tears and lamentations of his subjects. His own prudence and moderation contributed to, and almost ensured the public happiness which so honourably distinguished his administration; and the virtues which he displayed in private, might have secured him the enjoyment of domestic comfort with a temper less arrogant and turbulent than that of his consort; but amidst the splendor of a palace, the monarch was often induced to envy the condition of the meanest peasant; and the loss of Bertha was aggravated by the possession of Constance. The rigour with which he punished, in the reduction of Burgundy, the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants of Avalon, had cast a slight shade on a reign of unprecedented clemency; and a people whose annals hitherto have displayed almost a constant succession of sanguinary and ferocious princes, might well exclaim on the death of Robert: "We have lost a father who governed us in peace; beneath whose authority we dwelt in security; who suffered not in others that oppression which he himself disdained; who commanded our affections, and who banished our fears."

To the crown of Robert succeeded his eldest son Henry, who, at the age of twenty-seven, possessed with the vigour of youth the prudence and wisdom of age; yet these qualities were scarce sufficient to secure his authority, and the implacable

A. D. 1031.

implacable enmity of his mother shook his throne to the very foundation. At her imperious voice the flames of discord blazed with redoubled fury: Ambition prompted the count of Flanders, and interest induced the count of Champagne, to support the pretensions of Robert against the claim of his elder brother. To Eudes, the count of Champagne, was relinquished by the confederates half the city of Sens, as the price of his alliance; and that city, with Melun, Soissons, and the adjacent towns, were either reduced by force, or occupied by intrigue. Henry, astonished, and incapable of resisting the torrent, escaped with only twelve faithful followers into Normandy, and, deserted by his subjects, threw himself on the generous friendship of duke Robert. The liberal compassion of his protector justified his choice, and the treasures and forces of Normandy were devoted to his service: On one side, the Normans, commanded by the duke in person, spread destruction through the kingdom; and the country, which was blasted at his approach, sanctioned the surname of Devil, which the terrified inhabitants annexed to that of Robert: On the other side, the king himself thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victor. The tempest at length was hushed by the mediation of Fulk, count of Anjou; Constance sunk beneath the pangs of disappointed rage; prince Robert was gratified with the duchy of Burgundy; the submission of the counts of Flanders and Champagne was imitated by the rest of the vassals of the crown; but the gratitude of Henry dismembered the kingdom he had regained; and the services of the duke of Normandy were repaid by the duchies of Gisors, Chaumont, and Pontoise, and that part of the Vexin which had hitherto belonged to the dominions of France.

To

To the enterprises of war succeeded a negociation of marriage; and Henry, peaceably established on the throne, contracted himself to Matilda, the daughter of Conrad, who swayed the imperial sceptre with courage and prudence. Yet the historians more than doubt the consummation of these nuptials; and in about ten years afterwards we find Henry espoused to Anne, a daughter of Jerosolaus, great prince or duke of Russia, and who claimed her august descent from the dynasty of Basil, the Roman emperors of the East. The death of Rodolph, who, with the title of king, ruled that part of Burgundy which comprehended the countries of Swisserland and Savoy, the counties of La Bresse, Dauphiné, and the Lyonnois, kindled a war between Eudes, count of Champagne, and the emperor Conrad, who each claimed the succession, and supported their pretensions by arms; but Eudes was compelled to yield to the superior force of his rival, and, driven out of Burgundy, entered Lorrain, and possessed himself of Bar. Before he could improve this advantage he was encountered by Gothelon, duke of Lorrain; the defeat of the count of Champagne was rendered decisive by his death; and king Henry and the emperor Conrad might mutually rejoice in the destruction of a turbulent vassal and an enterprising neighbour.

But although Eudes was no more, his spirit survived in his two sons, Thibaud, count of Beauvais, Touraine, and Beauvois; and Stephen, count of Champagne. These rejected with disdain the servile duty of homage, and excited Eudes, the third and youngest brother of the king, and who had been left without territories or establishment, to fortify their cause with his name. The forces of the confederates were routed by

A. D.
1032, 1036.

A. D. 1037.

by the royal army; Eudes himself was taken prisoner, and secured at Orleans; the pardon of Thibaud was purchased at the expence of Touraine; the count of Champagne was happy to escape by the cession of a considerable part of his territory; but Galeran, count of Meulan, who had joined the standard of unsuccessful rebellion, was formally attainted; and the forfeiture of his property and life, the first example of the kind mentioned in history, proclaims the power which the crown had imperceptibly acquired.

The fashionable superstition of the times had impressed the minds of men with the merit of pilgrimages to the Holy Land; the martial spirit and gallantry of the Normans were peculiarly inflamed with this adventurous species of devotion; and Robert, duke of Normandy, assuming the pious garb of a pilgrim, prepared to visit the sacred sepulchre of Jerusalem. His subjects had acknowledged as his heir his son William, whose regular pretensions were obstructed by the illegitimacy of his birth; and the young duke was recommended by his father to the gratitude of Henry, king of France, and to the care of Alain, duke of Brittany. But the nobles of Normandy disdained the feeble rule of an infant; and the helpless years of the future conqueror of England were insulted and contemned by his restless and turbulent barons. The duke of Brittany in vain endeavoured to restore the general tranquillity; his faint entreaties were disregarded; and a slow poison, (such is the account of the historians of that age) which hastened his retreat and gradually undermined his constitution, was the reward of his ineffectual mediation. The king of France was actuated by more politic but less honourable motives; with a numerous army he invaded the defenceless frontiers, consumed with fire
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the town of Argentan, and occupied the important fortress of Tillerés.

The public disorders were increased by the intelligence, that duke Robert, on his return from the Holy Land, had expired at Nice. The ministers who yet preserved their fidelity unshaken, and who watched over the tender years of duke William, determined to implore the protection of the king of France: They conjured him by the memory of his own distress to repay the obligations he had received from the father to the son. The suggestions of interest were vanquished or suspended by the emotions of shame or gratitude, and Henry declared his resolution of vindicating the insulted authority of the Norman prince; his friendship, though transient, was ardent and effectual; he once more passed the frontiers, and at the valley of Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, encountered the revolted barons. The rebels maintained their ground with obstinate valour; the king himself was exposed to imminent danger, and, thrown from his horse in the violence of the charge, was only preserved by the immediate succour of his attendants: But his victory was glorious and decisive, and the battle of Dunes fixed the sceptre in the hands of the duke of Normandy.

The acquisitions of the Normans were not confined to their settlements in France; and under different leaders their arms penetrated into the fertile regions of Italy, established an independent sovereignty in Apulia, and soon afterwards embraced the kingdom of Naples, and reduced to their obedience the island of Sicily. Whether their progress in Apulia had alarmed the vigilant Henry, or that he early discerned the lofty genius and unbounded ambition of William, that monarch soon after violated

lated the friendship he had newly professed, and seemed constantly to repent of the assistance he had afforded to the duke of Normandy. William de Arques, count of Thoulouse, and son by a second marriage of Richard the Second, who preceded, as duke of Normandy, Robert, surnamed the Devil, no longer concealed his pretensions to the ducal title: He was powerfully supported by his brother, Mauger, archbishop of Rouen; A. D. 1047. and privately at first, and afterwards publicly, by Henry of France. But this formidable confederacy, which was strengthened by the counts of Poitou and Anjou, was broken by the auspicious genius of William the Bastard. The army with which Henry had threatened to expel him from Normandy was compelled to retreat with disgrace; a considerable detachment, in the march towards Rouen, had incautiously pressed before the main body; between Escoucy and Mortimer, their negligence was chastised by the arms of the Normans; and few escaped to relate the melancholy fate of their companions; Henry himself with the remainder of his forces retired towards Paris, indignant at his disgrace, and impatient to efface his defeat by the destruction of his rival; while William, who had triumphed over his revolted subjects, was equally determined to pursue with eternal enmity the perfidy of the French monarch.

That prince had formed a new alliance with Martel, count of Anjou, and engaged again to invade the territories of the Norman; his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the enterprise; and two armies, which he had diligently levied, A. D. 1054. threatened the destruction of the young duke: The one was led by Henry in person; the other he entrusted to his brother Eudes, whom he had released for that purpose from prison. But the superior

superior number of his troops served only to augment his confusion; those led by himself were continually harrassed, and repeatedly surpris'd; while the army commanded by his brother was defeated in a decisive action with cruel slaughter. Pressed or broken on every side, the French were compelled hastily to evacuate a country which they had unjustly invaded; and the terms of peace, which soon after followed, were dictated by the victorious duke of Normandy.

The age of the king, which scarce exceeded fifty-five years, allowed him to hope a long continuance of his reign; but his constitution was visibly impaired; his late defeat probably preyed upon his mind; and sensible of his approaching dissolution he determined to provide for the tranquillity of the kingdom by the association of the heir to the throne. Of his three sons by Anne, the grand-daughter of Wolodomir, great duke of Russia, Philip, the eldest, then only about seven years of age, was solemnly crowned at Rheims by the archbishop of that city. His tender youth did not exempt him from reading and subscribing a declaration, in which he promises, "in the presence of God and the saints," to respect and defend the clergy in their privileges and immunities; to observe the laws and to administer justice; and equitably to rule the people entrusted to his government. But anxious for the future welfare of his son, the precaution of Henry, named Baldwin, count of Flanders, as the guardian of his infancy, in case he himself should not be indulged with the satisfaction of beholding him attain the vigour of manhood. His fears were just; in the August following the coronation of Philip, Henry breathed his last, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. His own indiscretion, perhaps, hastened his end; and the injudicious use of
medicine

medicine is supposed to have accelerated the progress of disease ; but the imputation of poison could only exist in a credulous age, invariably desirous of ascribing the death of every sovereign to the effects of secret fraud or open violence.

Prudent in peace, and intrepid in war, the character of this monarch is chiefly stained by his ungenerous attempt against the feeble youth of the duke of Normandy ; and the injustice of the enterprise did not serve to reconcile him to the mortification of defeat ; yet the firmness with which he resisted the encroaching spirit of the pope has merited the praise of the historian, and ought to have been imitated by his successors. Leo the Ninth had entered France, and in a council held at Rheims had degraded several bishops contrary to the inclinations of the king ; pope Nicholas the Second was desirous of treading in the footsteps of his predecessor ; but he in vain solicited the consent of Henry to a similar visit, who steadfastly declined the proffered honour ; and the Roman pontiff, after a fruitless negotiation, was compelled to relinquish the impracticable design.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Baldwin, Count of Flanders, is appointed Regent of France. — Conquest of England by William Duke of Normandy. — Reign of Philip. — Account of the first Crusade. — Death of Philip, and Accession of Lewis the Sixth, surnamed the Gros. — His Reign and Death.

ON the decease of Henry, the regency of the state and the protection of his infant son might naturally have been expected by the widow and brother of the late monarch; Anne, indeed, might have asserted her indefeasible right over her child; nor were there examples wanting, in which the reins of administration had, during a minority, been committed to the hands of a female; but Henry had considered that princess was a stranger, and that she was ill qualified to control the impatient spirits of a haughty nobility with whom she was but little acquainted. Anne, in silence, acquiesced in his decision, and bestowed her hand on Raoul, count of Valois; after whose death she retired to her native climate of Russia.

If Henry prudently deemed his consort unequal to the toils of government, it was with a different eye he regarded his brother, Robert, duke of Burgundy. The abilities of that prince were acknowledged and dreaded; his power was already formidable; his influence with the nobles of France considerable; he had once already aspired to the crown; and it was to be feared if placed so near, his ambition might be revived, and his hand again stretched forth to seize it.

it. But Baldwin, count of Flanders, was free from every objection, and possessed every quality which could recommend him to this important trust ; his valour was tempered by caution, his vigilance was joined with a noble frankness : The guardian of the crown, and the friend of the people, he protected the prerogative of the first without infringing the rights of the last ; without endeavouring to oppress the nobles he restrained them in due subjection, and maintained peace by his preparations for war. The people of Aquitaine had presumed on the youth of their sovereign ; they were chastised by the arm of Baldwin ; and the anxious guardian, amidst the complicated cares of government, neglected not to bestow upon his royal pupil such an education as might contribute to his own happiness and that of the people over whom he was destined to reign.

Yet the administration of Baldwin has not entirely escaped censure ; and it has been imputed to him as an inexcusable error, that he suffered so dangerous a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to achieve the important conquest of England. Perhaps he was influenced by a natural regard for a prince who had married his daughter ; perhaps he dreaded his enterprising spirit, and was willing to secure the immediate tranquillity of the country he ruled, by diverting the stream of conquest another way. Whatever were his motives, the consequences were fatal ; and the splendid acquisition was attended with a series of bloody and destructive wars, which always contributed to exhaust, and frequently threatened to subvert the monarchy of France.

It is the observation of the celebrated historian of the reign of the emperor Charles the Fifth, " that
" whoever records the transactions of the more considerable European states during the two last centuries

"turies must write the history of Europe." The remark, which does honour to his judgment, may, in regard to France and England, be extended to a more early period : and from the union of the latter kingdom with Normandy, the wars and negociations of the French and English have been indissolubly blended, and form one great and complicated system of politics. So intimate a connection not only justifies, but demands an hasty sketch of the circumstances which illustrate this memorable event.

The Roman government was scarce dissolved in Britain before the island was suddenly and successively afflicted by the sword of the Scots and the Picts, the Danes, and the Saxons : The conquests of the latter were permanent ; and seven independent thrones, the Saxon heptarchy, were founded by the victors. These, in the course of little more than three revolving centuries, were united under Egbert ; and the sceptre, when first aspired to by William, was feebly and irresolutely swayed by Edward the Third, surnamed the Confessor. The partiality of that monarch for the Norman might countenance the report that he had bequeathed to him his throne. The mother of Edward was Emma, the sister of Richard of Normandy ; and when the British prince was compelled to fly before the sword of the Danes, he found a safe and hospitable retreat in the Norman court. The ties of blood and gratitude attached him to his kinsman and protector ; and it is probable that he would readily have preferred him to an ambitious subject, whose father was stained with the royal blood of his brother, and whose own popularity was hateful in the eyes of the king. But when Edward breathed his last, William was distant in Normandy, and the vacant throne was occupied by Harold, the son of earl Goodwin.

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The impatient spirit of William scorned to dissemble his sense of the injury, and his ambition permitted him not to relinquish his lofty hopes. In a formal embassy he demanded the sceptre which Harold had seized ; and the refusal was attended with a denunciation of war. A powerful armament was equipped in the ports of Normandy ; and while Harold was engaged in the North in repelling the invasion of Harfager, king of Norway, William sailed from St.

A. D. 1066. Valery, and landed at Pevensey on the coast of Sussex. From a glorious victory over Harfager, Harold was recalled to encounter this more formidable rival. The fatal battle was fought on the fourteenth of October, about seven miles from Hastings ; and the native valour of the English was unequally opposed to the discipline and artful evolutions of the Normans. A random arrow pierced the brain of Harold, and the remnant of the English army, after the death of their gallant leader, was only preserved from the pursuit of the Normans by the friendly darkness of the night. The fall of Harold established the victory and fortune of William ; and the sceptre of Britain, which for six hundred years had been successively swayed by a Saxon, was in one decisive day transferred to the hand of a Norman.

The death of Baldwin, count of Flanders, soon succeeded the invasion and conquest of
A. D. 1067. England ; and in the fifteenth year of his age his royal pupil assumed the peaceable administration of his dominions. The able ministers who had been promoted by the penetration of Baldwin, were no longer suffered to guide the councils of Philip ; and the beginning of his various reign was equally characterized by activity, as the conclusion of it was by indolence. The territories of Geoffry Martel, count of Anjou, were disputed by his two sons, Geoffry and

Fulk ; and the incautious integrity of the former was ensnared by the perfidious artifices of the latter ; Yet, although Fulk was at first menaced with the resentment of the king of France, the emotions of justice were soon sacrificed to the suggestions of interest ; the anger of Philip was disarmed by a share in the spoils ; and on the cession of the Gastoinois, the younger brother was permitted to retain in peace the inheritance of which he had fraudulently deprived his elder.

The care of Baldwin had imbued the mind of Philip with every royal science, and the masters he had provided had fitted his body for the martial exercises of a warlike age ; but the heart had resisted the admonitions of the virtuous tutor ; and as Philip advanced in years, his subjects discerned, with a capacity which might have ensured their happiness, a disposition which menaced them with the incessant calamities of war. The love of glory, the vice of great minds, never found entrance into the bosom of Philip ; but throughout his reign he displayed in every enterprise the invariable features of treachery, with the propensity of insatiate avarice. He had deserted, not much to his reputation, the cause of Geoffry, to partake the crime and plunder of Fulk ; but in a dispute respecting the succession to the territory of the late regent, he stained his character with the meanest perfidy and the blackest ingratitude. Baldwin and Robert were the two sons of Baldwin ; the former and elder inherited from him his dignity with the principality of Flanders ; the latter and younger, the title with the country of Frize : But Baldwin, discontented with his own share, beheld with envy the domain of his brother. With a numerous army he invaded the province of Robert, and his own death in battle was the consequence of the unnatural enterprise. The victor seized on Flanders, and the widow
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of the deceased count, with her two sons, Arnold and Baldwin, sought shelter from the tempest in the court of Philip. She was received by that monarch with every mark of respect, and with every profession of regard. To restore her sons, with a numerous army he entered Flanders; but in a decisive battle near St. Omers the French were defeated, and the young count, Arnold, perished in the action. This check cooled the ardour of Philip, and he from that moment abandoned the cause of the widow and the orphan. Their distress induced them to apply to Henry the third of Germany, and his compassion assured them of his protection, and induced him to arm in their support. Hope once more smiled upon the youthful Baldwin; but the prospect was soon darkened by the intrigues of Philip. He had engaged to marry Bertha, the daughter of the countess of Frize by a former husband, and to maintain her present in the possession of the dominions he had usurped. The feeble efforts of Baldwin were overwhelmed by the united force of the confederates; he was compelled to acquiesce in the district, with the title of count of Hainault, and to leave his uncle in the peaceable enjoyment of Flanders.

With equal success Philip encountered the arms of William, who had exchanged, by the acquisition of England, the opprobrious distinction of Bastard for the honourable surname of Conqueror. With an army of his new subjects, that prince had traversed the sea to reduce Hoel, duke of Brittany, who had refused to yield him homage. But the first place that he besieged was witness of his disgrace; and with the loss of his baggage the king of England was obliged to retire before the fortune of his royal rival. The conditions of peace were dictated by Philip; and his mind, naturally presumptuous,

tuous, was inflated by the advantage he obtained. Robert, the eldest son of the conqueror, had violated the duty he owed to his parent and sovereign, and erected the standard of revolt in Normandy. He was privately encouraged by Philip, who bestowed on him the town of Gerberoi, in the Beavoisins; in that place he was invested by William. In a sally from the town Robert displayed the hereditary valour of his race; his lance transfixed the thickest ranks of the besiegers, and unhorsed William himself. The king of England would have perished by the hand of his son, had not his voice revealed his person and danger: The astonished Robert, struck with horror at the crime which impended over him, raised the fallen monarch from the ground, and mounted him on his own horse. The pardon of his father was the reward of his gallantry and penitence; and Philip affected to rejoice at a reconciliation which it was no longer in his power to prevent.

For some years the animosity of the monarchs was happily for their subjects suspended. It was again kindled by a jest of Philip: The corpulency of the king of England, who was indisposed, provoked the observation, "Although William is so long lying-in, I doubt, when he comes abroad he will be as big as ever." The retort of the Norman was an allusion to the custom of carrying lights by women when churching: "It will not be long before I go abroad, and let Philip know, that so many lights shall be carried at my churching as shall enlighten all France, and make him repent of his jest." The menace was rigorously fulfilled soon after; William landed in France with a formidable army, possessed himself by assault of the town of Mantes, and delivered it to the flames; but as the victor endeavoured to retire from the heat of the fire, his horse,

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in leaping over a ditch, threw him on the pommel of the saddle; the contusion proved mortal, and

A. D. 1087. William the Conqueror in a short time after expired at Rouen.

The death of that prince delivered Philip from a formidable enemy, and the dominions of the deceased monarch were contested by his three sons. Of these, the second, William, surnamed Rufus, by the dying breath of his father was recommended to the throne of England; but for the possession of it he was probably more indebted to the attachment of Eudes, the minister of the late king, who delivered into his hands the royal treasures, than to the favourable opinion of a sovereign who never had acquired the affections of his subjects. Robert, the eldest, succeeded to Normandy and Maine; and to Henry was only bequeathed a sum of money. Yet Rufus, not content with the crown he had ravished from the expectations of Robert, invaded soon after the duchy of Normandy: The latter was faintly supported by Philip of France; and by the cession of

A. D. 1091. Eu, Fescamp, and Cherbourg, purchased a disadvantageous peace, which permitted him to retain the scanty remnant of his dominions.

The interest of Philip had suggested to him a marriage with the daughter of the countess of Flanders; but two sons and a daughter, the issue of those nuptials, could not restrain the fickle monarch from divorcing Bertha from his side: A distant and doubtful degree of consanguinity afforded the pretence; and the unhappy princess, banished to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart. The king of France demanded next in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, the brother of the duke of Calabria: The lady richly adorned with

with jewels and liberally portioned, was escorted to the French court; nor is it without a blush the historian records that Emma was dismissed, and her fortune retained. The passions of Philip had been inflamed by Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of Fulk of Anjou, who with the assistance of the king had supplanted his elder brother Geoffrey: The vanity of a licentious woman was gratified by the addresses of a royal lover; and the countess hesitated not to forsake the bed of an aged and morose husband, and to follow her paramour to Orleans. The ascendancy she obtained over the affections of Philip was displayed in his subsequent conduct; he determined to solemnize a marriage which was doomed invariably to embitter his future days. The ceremony was performed by Eudes, bishop of Bayeaux, in the presence of the bishop of Senlis and the archbishop of Rouen. But so flagrant a violation of every moral and civil tie, could not escape the censure of pope Urban the Second. In a council held at Autun, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the king unless he parted with Bertrade: His ready promise of submission averted, or rather suspended, the thunders of the vatican; his perseverance in his criminal enjoyments once more aroused them; and in a second council, assembled at Clermont, with the acquiescence of the clergy of France, Philip was again subjected to the penalties of excommunication.

It was in this council that Urban first preached the sacred service of the crusades, and awakened the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the Holy Land. His audience had already been prepared by the enthusiastic eloquence of Peter the Hermit, and the contagious zeal spread through persons of all ranks and all denominations. To use the words of the princess Anna Comnena, all Europe

Europe torn up from the foundation seemed ready to precipitate itself in one united body on Asia. The vehement exhortations of the Roman pontiff were interrupted by the shouts of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, "God wills it." "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope, "and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the holy spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry in battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ; his cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark, on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and the laity, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross, and solicited the pope to march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the prudent successor of St. Peter, who alleged the duties of his pastoral office; recommending to the faithful, who were disqualified by sex or profession, by age or infirmity, to aid with their prayers and alms the personal service of their robust brethren. After the confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure to the Holy Land was fixed to the festival of the Assumption, the fifteenth of August of the ensuing year.

That day was anticipated by a thoughtless crowd of plebeians, who, to the number of
A. D. 1096. above sixty thousand of both sexes, pressed with clamorous importunity Peter the Hermit to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The Hermit, assuming the character without the talents or authority

authority of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Danube and the Rhine. The footsteps of Peter were followed by the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. The rear was closed with two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal license of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. Of this motley crew, the greater part sunk beneath the fatigues of their march, and the accumulated pressure of hunger and thirst; the remainder, who had endured and surmounted the difficulties and distress of their long and tedious pilgrimage, had scarce refreshed their wasted bodies with the hospitable plenty of Constantinople, before their impatience urged them headlong against the Turks: Their imprudence betrayed them into the snares of the sultan of Nice; and Peter the Hermit, securely sheltered in the Byzantine court, might lament the fate of his improvident companions, and expect the arrival of their more grave and noble brethren.

Among these, the first rank, both in war and council, was justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon, who in the hour of victory was elevated to the transient throne of Jerusalem. With him was joined in the holy enterprise, Hugh, count of Vermandois, the brother of the king of France; and Robert, duke of Normandy, whose intrepid spirit and fickle disposition equally prompted him to embrace an expedition endeared by the prospect of danger and novelty. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks he mortgaged Normandy during his absence to Rufus, who had already defrauded him of the crown of England; and the inconsiderable pittance which he had raised at the expence
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of the scanty remnant of his father's ample territory, was freely dedicated to the service in which he embarked. But the devout example and holy zeal of their brothers, could not kindle this flame in the worldly and licentious bosoms of William and Philip: The former was diligently engaged in extending the terror of his arms, and the limits of his dominions, by successive expeditions in Scotland, Wales, and the county of Maine; the latter assiduously laboured with Bertrade in the pursuit of pleasure. But their hours of dalliance were frequently interrupted by the awful voice of the successor of St. Peter; and the admonitions of the Roman pontiff were followed by the tremendous thunder of papal indignation. His lawless commerce with the countess of Anjou demanded the chastisement of the spiritual father; and the penalties of excommunication were a third time denounced against Philip. The profligacy of the monarch seldom fails to pollute the minds of his people; and the powerful vassals of the crown were eager to imitate the amorous conduct of their sovereign, while they insulted his dignity and contemned his authority.

The difficulties which embarrassed the indolent and infatuated king, were in part dissipated by the death of Bertha his queen and by the acquiescence of the count of Anjou. Yet Fulk reluctantly consented to exchange an abandoned woman for the treasures of royalty; and the ascendancy which Bertrade maintained to the last over the surly mind of that haughty chief, may in some measure impress us with an idea of her charms, and account for her influence over the amorous soul of Philip. A partial absolution was by flattery and presents tardily obtained from the pope; and

A. D.
1096, 1100.

and the eternal separation from Bertrade was constantly stipulated, and as constantly eluded.

While Philip reposed in the arms of beauty,
his kingdom was doomed by her miseries
A. D. 1102. to atone for the vices of the sovereign.

The barons once more affected a tone of independence, and their private quarrels were frequently decided in a field of battle; on each side the indignant chiefs collected their partizans, and maintained their exclusive jurisdiction within their respective territories: The scenes of anarchy and civil commotion from which France had been rescued by the prudence of Hugh Capet and his successors, were again presented in every province; and the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was restored by the virtues of the son. The distress of Philip compelled him to associate to the throne, Lewis the eldest issue of his marriage with Bertha: At the early age of twenty years the prince displayed a degree of prudence which is seldom attained, even by the experience of mature wisdom; affable, vigilant and active, he commanded the respect of his people as much by his private qualities as by his public measures. With a small but well disciplined body of troops he continually kept the field, and over-awed the nobles who had disdained the authority of his father. He razed their castles, redressed the injuries of their dependants, and compelled them to relinquish the lands which they had ravished from the church. The Banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately attested his indefatigable promptitude; and the presumption of a haughty nobility was repressed and chastised by a cautious, yet enterprising prince. Early affianced to the daughter of Guy, count of Rochefort, that marriage was opposed, and declared null by the Roman pontiff,

tiff, Pascal the second. The father resented the facility with which Lewis acquiesced in the determination of the pope; and encouraged by Thibaud, count of Champagne, erected the standard of revolt, plundered the defenceless traders of the country, and secured his spoils in the castle of Gournai.

But Lewis was not to be insulted with impunity; with the troops which he could most readily assemble, he advanced towards Gournai, passed the river at the head of his cavalry in person, and invested the hostile castle. The confederates determined to risk a battle for the preservation of the fortress; and the counts of Rochefort and Champagne, at the head of their numerous friends, pressed towards the Maine. Lewis having secured his camp against the sallies of the besiegers, hesitated not to encounter the superior numbers of his adversaries. His confidence in his own valour, and that of his soldiers, was rewarded by a signal victory: The formidable confederacy was instantly dissolved; and Gournai, which had surrendered to the prince, was transferred by the victor to a different family.

However the abilities of Lewis might contribute to his own glory, and to the relief of his father, they subjected him to the hatred and persecution of Bertrade; his genius and fortune obstructed the royal hopes of her own sons, whom she still flattered herself might, if that prince was removed, succeed to the throne. The easy king was persuaded to gratify a mistress whom he loved, at the expence of a son whom he must have esteemed; and to avoid the dangerous enmity of his mother-in-law, Lewis obtained permission to visit England. He was received by Henry (who on the death of his brother William Rufus had possessed himself of the sovereignty

sovereignty of that island, to the exclusion of Robert of Normandy) with every mark of respect: Even here if we can credit the testimony of concurring historians, the unabated malice of Bertrade pursued him; and by a letter subscribed with the name of Philip, the king of England was requested to retain his guest in confinement, or extinguish the dread of his return by death. The virtue of Henry spurned at a proposal, which insulted his own honour; his horror of the crime was displayed in his tender regard of Lewis; to that prince he delivered the letter which contained the fatal secret. In vain did the injured Lewis demand on his return that justice to which he was so eminently entitled, both from a father and a sovereign: These duties were overwhelmed by the fatal passion for Bertrade; and the king was content with disowning the signature, without endeavouring to discover or to punish the authors of the imposture.

But the rage of a disappointed woman was not to be checked by shame, or controlled by the dread of punishment: Her former attempt sufficiently evinced how equal

she was to the commission of the most daring crime, and she confided in the partiality of the king to screen her from the sword of Justice, or the vengeance of the people: A faithful servant of her guilt administered to her passions by the effects of poison; the baneful potion was swallowed by Lewis, and the strength of his constitution for a long time seemed overpowered by the violence of the noxious draught. The arts of medicine were exhausted in vain, and the ablest physicians despaired of his life; he was saved by the skill of a stranger: But these reiterated instances of implacable aversion had at last triumphed over his patience, and he prepared to defend that life

A. D.

1106, 1108.

life by arms, which he had in vain endeavoured to secure by submission and by exile. Bertrade would probably have fallen a victim to the just resentment of the injured hero, had she not averted the danger by the same arts she had acquired her dominion over Philip, and maintained her ascendancy over the count of Anjou. Lewis was not insensible to the tears of repenting beauty; he consented to pardon; and Bertrade ever afterwards affected to declare, with how much sincerity it is not for us to decide, That he, and he alone, deserved to inherit the kingdom which he had preserved.

Philip survived not long to enjoy the tranquillity established by this event; in the forty-seventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age, he expired at Melun, despised by his subjects, and regretted, perhaps, only by Bertrade. Yet his character, though deficient in virtue, was not destitute of endearing qualities; courteous, generous and compassionate, those who had immediate access to his person, forgot in the manners of the man the vices of the king. By Bertha, whose peace he ruined and whose heart he broke, Lewis his successor was his only remaining son: Henry died young; and a daughter, named Constantia, was first married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and afterwards to Bohemond, prince of Antioch. His children by the celebrated Bertrade were, Philip, count of Mante, whose estates were confiscated for rebellion, and who died without issue; Florence, who left only a daughter; and Cecilia, who was twice married, first to Tancred, prince of Antioch, and next to Pons de Toulouse, count of Tripoli.

Lewis the Sixth, who, from his corpulency in the latter part of his life, was distinguished by the surname of Gross, immediately on the death of his father assumed the

A. D. 1103.

A. D.
1109, 1113.

reins

reins of government. A schism that prevailed in the church of Rheims, induced the king to fix his coronation at Orleans, and to receive his crown from the bishop of that city. But more effectual measures than an empty ceremony were necessary to establish his authority; and the nobles seized the opportunity of an infant reign, to assert again their pretensions: These were once more humbled in a field of battle; and the impartial spirit of justice which the monarch displayed, gradually reconciled his subjects to his sway. Yet, with the lofty title of king of France, his domain scarce equalled that of the duke of Burgundy; and the territory which more immediately owned him as sovereign, was confined to Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Compeigne, Melun, Bourges, and a few other places too inconsiderable to be named.

The disaffected barons had been privately supported by Henry of England, whose compassion for the prince was lost in his jealousy of the king. But no sooner had Lewis triumphed over the malecontents than he directed his attention towards Normandy; Gisors on the Epte was the object of contention between the two kings. Lewis demanded that the fortifications should be razed, which Henry, without refusing, continually eluded. Their discontents at length broke out in open hostilities, and the monarchs, in person, opposed each other in the field. Before the armies joined, Lewis in vain proposed an accommodation; and his proposal to decide the dispute by single combat, was equally rejected by Henry, who answered with a smile, "that if victorious, he could but keep a place which he already possessed without fighting; and that the king of France hazarded his life indeed to attain an important

“portant acquisition, while his own would be staked
“against nothing.” In the event of the day, Henry
might frequently repent of a reply more prudent
than gallant; and the forces of Normandy were
compelled to fly before those of France. Yet the
victor and the vanquished alike inclined to peace;
and the homage of William, the only son of Henry,
was accepted by Lewis for the duchy of Normandy,
in the place of that of his father, who constantly
refused to prostitute the dignity of his crown by the
servile ceremony.

The nobles of France had supported Lewis in his
war with Henry, of whose possessions in Normandy
they were equally jealous. The conclusion of peace
was the signal again of revolt; and the life of the
king in successive battles, was exposed with various
success. The cause of the count of Champagne was
embraced by the king of England; and the count
of Anjou, the son of Fulk and Bertrade, renounced
his homage to Henry, and joined the standard of
France: But the French, in a decisive battle, were
doomed to experience the reverse of fortune. The
victorious Normans were commanded by the count
of Blois; and the count of Flanders, gallantly fight-
ing in the cause of his sovereign was thrown from
his horse and trampled to death. Yet the disputes
of the two monarchs were again adjusted at Gisors;
but the terms were prescribed by Henry, and were
submitted to with reluctance by Lewis, who beheld
his confederates, the count of Anjou, and the count
of Brittany, yield homage to the conqueror for their
respective countries of Maine and Brittany. The
influence of Henry was further augmented by the
marriage of one of his daughters to Conan, the son
of the duke of Brittany; his other daughter was
already married to Henry the Fifth, of Germany;
and

and his son William now espoused the daughter and heirs of the count of Anjou.

A. D.
1115, 1119.

The king of France, equally desirous of extending his connections and providing for the succession of the crown, demanded and obtained the hand of Adelaide, the daughter of the count of Savoy. The amiable qualities of that princess endeared her to the nobility, and her good sense and discretion contributed to smooth the rugged paths which Lewis, throughout his reign, was condemned to tread. The success of Henry still rankled in the bosom of that monarch, and he impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to retrieve his glory, and re-establish his authority. With pleasure he listened to the suppliant voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to arouse the compassion of other monarchs, sought shelter and support in the court of France. This prince was William, the son of Robert of Normandy, and grandson of the conqueror; whose filial piety implored the humanity of Lewis to procure the liberty of his father, a prisoner to his brother Henry. The king of France hesitated not long in granting a request, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and interest. He advised William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cause the counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negotiation of the young prince was successful; and Lewis, apprized of the sentiments and preparations of the confederates, demanded of the king of England the liberty of his brother Robert. A peremptory refusal was the signal of revolt to the Norman chieftains; the indignant people hastened to proclaim William their duke, and crowded to his standard; the counts of Flanders and Anjou advanced with a formidable
army

army to the gates of Rouen; and the mind of Henry, astonished at the defection of Normandy, was alarmed and embarrassed by the dread of domestic conspiracy.

Yet amidst the dangers which on every side presented themselves; amidst secret disaffection and open rebellion, the intrigues of his own subjects, and the invasion of his foreign enemies, the king of England maintained that fortitude which ever distinguished his character. Instead of condescending to solicit an ignominious peace, he disputed every inch of the ground with unabated vigour; his arms were seconded by his intrigues; by a liberal distribution of his treasures, he detached the count of Anjou from the party of the confederates; in a bloody action, the count of Flanders shared the fate of his father, and mortally wounded in the face, soon after expired. Alain, duke of Brittany, rushed to the assistance of the king of England; and the youthful William had the double mortification of beholding his enemies increased, and his friends diminished. The forces of France were still entire, and Lewis was not inclined readily to abandon an enterprise, in which his honour and his interest were so deeply engaged. As he advanced, in hopes of surprising Nojon, he himself was unexpectedly encountered by the English army, in the plains of Brenneville; his van-guard, commanded by William, astonished yet undaunted, and animated by the spirit of the gallant youth who led them, charged with resistless fury; the English troops who opposed them, were broken by their impetuous valour; for a moment, Henry despaired of his crown and life; struck to the ground by the arm of a Norman warrior, he yet rose with redoubled strength, and levelled at his feet his daring adversary. His persevering courage restored order to his troops, and increased the confusion of his ene-

mies, already scattered by the hunger of spoil, and by the rash impatience of their king. The fortune of the day was changed by the indiscretion of the leader and the avarice of his followers; and Lewis was glad to exchange his proud hopes of victory for the security of flight: On foot he escaped with difficulty to the friendly and neighbouring walls of Andeli, and relinquished to his rival the glory of a field, of which he had been defrauded by his own rashness.

A. D. 1118. The French army had united under the walls of Andeli; but the strength of the confederates was impaired by the defection of the count of Anjou and the death of the count of Flanders. The proffered mediation of the Roman pontiff was gladly accepted; and Henry, after gloriously concluding a war which threatened to subvert his throne, dictated the terms of peace, and repassed the seas, to repose after his fatigues, and display his triumph in England. But the exultation of victory was soon overwhelmed by a calamity, as severe as it was unexpected. He had left behind him his son William, the heir of his crown and virtues, to receive the homage of the Norman nobles. The vessel in which the young prince embarked to rejoin his father, was, through the negligence of the pilot, wrecked near Barfleur, on the coast of Normandy; and William, with Richard, a natural son of Henry, and a train of gallant nobles, fatally perished. In the midst of public distress, Henry had displayed the undaunted resolution which became a hero and a king: In this private and irreparable loss, the feelings of a father were equally conspicuous; and from the moment that he received the fatal intelligence, his countenance invariably acknowledged the settled sorrow which oppressed his soul.

The

The hopes of William of Normandy were revived by the fate of the son of Henry, and the nobility of that country were ready to receive with open arms, a prince whom they now considered as the last representative of their ancient dukes. The treasures of France were, by the policy of Lewis, devoted to his service; and the count of Anjou bestowed on him his second daughter Sybilla, with the county of Maine: His eldest had proved barren in the embraces of the English prince; and the premature death of her consort, dissolved the alliance which Fulk had contracted with the king of England. That monarch was awakened from the lethargy of grief by the tremendous sound of war; and the powerful confederates were soon admonished by the negotiations of a statesman and the enterprising spirit of a warrior, that affliction had not enfeebled his mind, or cooled his ardour. He had raised to the throne of England, as his second wife, the niece of pope Callixtus the Second: The Roman pontiff, under the pretence of consanguinity, declared void the marriage between William and Sybilla; and that unfortunate prince was compelled to abandon, with his wife, the province of Maine. His expectation in Normandy proved equally fallacious; the conspirators, before they could assemble their adherents, were surprised by the arrival, and reduced by the activity of Henry, whose voice excited the emperor of Germany to arms, and menaced France with the terrors of foreign invasion.

In the tempest which threatened to overturn his throne, the internal resources of Lewis were displayed. The vassals of the crown crowded to his standard; and the celebrated *Oriflame*, the banner of St. Denys, was first unfurled on this memorable occasion. The German emperor was

A. D.

1120, 1123.

A. D. 1124.

compelled to retire before an army of two hundred thousand men, confident in their numbers, and zealous in the service of their country ; but when Lewis would have led this formidable host to encounter the king of England, and to establish the son of Robert in the duchy of Normandy, the flattering hopes of conquest were dissipated by the answer of the jealous barons. They prudently distinguished between the cause of the kingdom and the king ; and declared they would not contribute to oppress the king of England, whose possession of Normandy they regarded as necessary to the maintenance of their own security. The death of the emperor of Germany, on the part of Henry, the invincible aversion of his nobles, suspicious of his intentions, on the side of Lewis, disposed the two monarchs mutually to peace, which they nominally kept, and constantly violated, in the cause of their vassals and allies.

Charles of Denmark had succeeded his cousin Baldwin, who perished in an action with the Bretons before Eu, in the principality of Flanders. Charles fell a victim to the discontents of his subjects, and was himself assassinated at Bruges. The vacant county was claimed by Baldwin, earl of Mons ; and Thierri, count of Alsace : The king of France was determined to bestow it on the son of Robert of Normandy ; and the king of England prepared to support the pretensions of the count of Alsace. To secure the neutrality of the count of Anjou, he married his daughter Maude, the widow of Henry the Fifth of Germany, to Geoffry Plantagenet, the son of that nobleman, and persuaded the count himself to embark for the Holy Land, to receive the crown of Jerusalem. Thus secure from any interruption on that side, he excited the earl of Champagne to arm in the cause of Thierri : The rival princes encountered

A. D.

1124, 1128.

countered each other near Alort; the valour of the Norman triumphed over his adversary; but even in the moment of victory his adverse genius prevailed. In the action he was wounded in the hand; a mortification terminated a life invariably unfortunate; and the death of William was attended with the submission of Flanders, which consented to acknowledge the authority of the count of Alsace.

The domestic misfortunes of Henry had embittered the happiness of his life; and Lewis, A. D. 1129. in his turn, was also doomed to taste of the cup of affliction. He had scarce associated his eldest son Philip to the throne, before he was summoned to weep over his tomb: A fall from his horse proved fatal to the young prince; and the favourable expectations of a future reign, which had been raised by his early virtues, were blasted by his premature death. The loss of Philip was followed by the coronation of Lewis, who at the age of twelve years received the crown from the hands of pope Innocent the Second. The sudden manner in which this ceremony was performed, is accounted for by the cabals of the nobles, impatient of the king's rigorous administration and rigid virtue, and even desirous of transferring the sceptre to another family.

Yet the benefits resulting from an inflexible adherence to justice, and an invariable zeal for the laws, could not fail at length to reconcile his subjects to the austere integrity of their sovereign. A. D. 1130, 1137.

The great vassals of the crown, convinced that the views of Lewis were honourable, were induced to place that confidence in him which they had hitherto withheld from his predecessors; even Thibaud, count of Champagne, relinquished his connections with Henry, and attached himself to the king of France with a fidelity which

which nothing could shake. In the enjoyment of that tranquillity which he had so long desired and so lately attained, the health of Lewis visibly declined, and his life was threatened by the excessive corpulency from which he had derived the surname of Gros. In hourly expectation of his dissolution, he drew his ring from his finger, and as he delivered it to his son, conjured him to recollect, that the sovereign power with which it invested him, was a public trust devolved on him by providence; and for the exercise of which, he must be accountable in a future state. Some favourable symptoms of returning health were received by the universal acclamations of the people; and before his death he had the satisfaction of beholding his son united to Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of the duke of Guienne and Aquitaine. The marriage was celebrated at Bourdeaux, and the young princess was solemnly crowned queen of France. But the king himself had scarce time to embrace his daughter-in-law, before he sunk beneath the pressure of disease, and expired at Paris, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the sixtieth year of his age. His character has been described in a few words, more favourable to his private than his public qualities: He might have made a better king, he could not prove a better man.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

*Accession of Lewis the Seventh, surnamed the Young.—
 Characters of his Ministers, St. Bernard and Suger
 —At the Instigation of the Former, he assumes the
 Cross, and marches to the relief of the Holy Land.—
 His Defeat and return.—He divorces his Wife
 Eleanor.—His Wars with Henry the Second, King of
 England.—Character and Death of Thomas Becket,
 Archbishop of Canterbury.—Death of Lewis the
 Seventh.*

LEWIS the Seventh, although at the demise of his father but eighteen years old, and who retained the surname of *Young* even in the more mature period of age, assumed the reins of government. The affections of the nobility had been conciliated, or their arrogance humbled, by the address or arms of his predecessor; but the vigour and wisdom which had awed or influenced them was no more; and the accession of an inexperienced youth flattered their turbulent expectations with an æra of license and anarchy. To repress their excesses, the king retired to Orleans and prepared to assemble his forces; but even the Commons, who had invariably supported the authority of his father, opposed with seditious clamours his decrees, and were appeased with danger and difficulty. Amidst a scene of revolt and disaffection, the king remained firm and undaunted; and the discontented barons were rather intimidated by the fortitude he displayed, than reduced by the troops he had collected.

A. D.

1137, 1139.

Whatever

Whatever calamities menaced France from her internal dissensions, the delicate situation of affairs in England delivered her from the dread of an inveterate and formidable enemy. On the death of Henry the First, his vacant throne was occupied by Stephen, count of Boulogne, the brother of Thibaud, count of Champagne, and nephew of the deceased monarch. The English had preferred the martial spirit of a popular general, to the unsteady counsels of a capricious woman, and the feeble name of an infant. Matilda, and her son Henry Plantagenet, the daughter and grandson of Henry the First, in vain urged their pretensions; they were compelled to yield to the head-long rage of the torrent, and to shelter themselves in Anjou.

Normandy, long united to England, submitted to A. D. her influence, and acknowledged the authority of Stephen. His son Eustace, as the representative of his father, discharged in person the homage due to the crown of France, and received the hand of Constance, the sister of the king. But this alliance could not restrain the turbulent disposition of Thibaud, count of Champagne, and uncle of Eustace. The Chapter of Bourges had elected, without waiting the approbation of their sovereign, Pierre de le Chatre to the vacant archiepiscopal see. The indignant monarch, determined to vindicate his insulted authority, commanded the Chapter to proceed to a new election; but the clergy firmly maintained their choice. The Roman pontiff espoused the cause of Pierre de le Chatre; and he himself, protected by the count of Champagne, to whose court he had escaped, launched the thunders of ecclesiastical vengeance against that part of the royal domain which was comprised within the limits of his archbishoprick. The brand of discord was kindled by this hasty spark, and the flame was fed by another incident

Incident which equally displayed the dangerous and encroaching spirit of the court of Rome, nourished the arrogance of the count of Champagne, and provoked the resentment of the king of France.

Rodolph, count of Vermandois, whose personal merit was rendered still more conspicuous by his illustrious birth, and who had successively presided over the councils of Lewis and his father, had divorced from his bed on the common and convenient pretence of consanguinity, his wife, the near relation of the count of Champagne; and had espoused Petronilla, the daughter of the late duke of Aquitaine, and the younger sister of the queen of France. The mind of Thibaud was deeply wounded by the indignity offered to his family; the Roman Pontiff readily embraced the cause of the protector of Pierre de le Chatre; he declared the marriage of Petronilla void, and denounced the penalty of excommunication against Rodolph, unless he recalled to his bed his wife, whom he had divorced. But Lewis, doubly interested in the fate of his kinsman, was not to be dismayed by the terror of spiritual censure; with a formidable army he entered the territories of Thibaud, and compelled that haughty chief to sue for peace: As the means of obtaining it, he promised to intercede with the pope to revoke the excommunication of the count of Vermandois, and the interdict which Pierre de le Chatre had pronounced against the royal domain in the archbishoprick of Bourges. Yet the king had scarce retired within his own dominions before he was again assailed by the hostile weapons of the apostolical chair; and enraged at the deceit of Thibaud, the sincerity of whose submission he justly suspected, he determined to avenge on the miserable inhabitants of Champagne, the perfidy of their restless prince. The country on every side was blasted at his approach; and the tempest of his indignation burst

burst with accumulated violence on the town of Vitri : The waters of the Maine were stained with the blood of a wretched and defenceless people ; and thirteen hundred persons are reported to have perished in the flames which consumed the church of Vitri.

The emotions of rage and resentment had at first occupied the soul of Lewis : To these succeeded compassion and repentance ; and the monarch turned with horror from the sanguinary scene, the consequence of his own unbridled passions. He reconciled himself to the count of Champagne ; he acknowledged Pierre as the archbishop of Bourges ; and, consistent with the devotion of a superstitious age, he determined to merit the absolution of his crime by the assumption of the holy cross. Two ministers at that time divided the confidence, and ruled with equal influence, but different counsels ; the mind of Lewis ; the veneration for each was increased by the sanctity of their mutual profession ; and born and educated in the cloister, their abilities were transferred to the palace and the throne. Both possessed the singular qualities of unfeigned piety and unshaken integrity. Suger, abbot of St. Denys, mean in his birth and meaner in his person, displayed a comprehensive judgment, free from the clouds of enthusiasm, and regarded the political horizon with the eye of a penetrating statesman ; he earnestly admonished Lewis to be satisfied with the more prudent contributions of men and money ; and by his presence at home to secure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. His moderate exhortations were overwhelmed by the torrent of his rival's eloquence, and his sagacity was ineffectually exercised in foretelling the evils which he was not permitted to avert. But the fatal triumph was due to the fervid zeal, the vehement tone and gestures of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne ;

pagne : Descended from a noble family of Burgundy, he had buried himself, at the pleasureable age of twenty-three, in the austere solitude of monastic retirement ; but his virtues were not to be concealed within the walls of his convent, and the holy appellation of saint was an honourable testimony to the blameless tenor of his life. In speech, in writing, and in action, he stood high above his rivals and contemporaries ; his fame was enhanced by his stedfast refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities ; he was consulted as the oracle of Europe ; and princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolical censures. His glowing colours depicted the meritorious piety, the eternal rewards which attended the holy warfare ; and the flame of fanaticism which he kindled in the bosom of the king, was only to be extinguished by the blood of the infidels. His victory over Lewis was followed by the more difficult conquest of Conrad, emperor of Germany, and of Frederick duke Swabia. his nephew and successor ; and at the pathetic voice of St. Bernard, profuse of success and divine favour, the myriads of Europe were again aroused to the defence of the holy sepulchre.

In the parliament of Vezelay, Lewis the Seventh, with his queen and nobles, received their crosses from the hand of the abbot of Clairvaux. A. D. 1146. The distress of Palestine demanded the immediate presence of the devout warriors ; and the falling fortunes of the Latins, could only be propped by the immense preparations for the second crusade. The city of Edeffa had been recovered from the Christians by the valour of Zenghi, a Turkish chief, who ruled with independent authority the Asiatic kingdoms of Mosul and Aleppo ; and the conquest which had been atchieved by the father, was protected by the fame and fortune of his son. The name of Nouredin, the *Light*, still gleams through the

the darkness of Asiatic history ; and its meridian glory eclipsed the faint lustre of the unworthy successors of Godfrey. The throne of Jerusalem was then occupied by the inexperienced youth of Baldwin the Third, and his tender years were protected by the counsels of his mother Melisenda, while the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli obeyed the authority of the two Raymonds, of Poitiers and Toulouse.

The forces which assembled under the standard of the king of France, have been computed
A. D. 1147. at the almost incredible number of seventy thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry. The reins of government were, during his absence, entrusted to Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and to Suger, abbot of St. Denys, whose counsels he had rejected, but whose prudence and judgment he esteemed. At the head of this unwieldy host, Lewis traversed successfully the Plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Constantinople. In the interview with Manuel Comnenus, the seat of the French monarch was a low stool, beside the throne of the emperor of the East ; but Lewis soon after asserted his oppressed dignity ; and when he had transported his army beyond the Bosphorus, declined the offer of a second conference, unless his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the sea or land. From the shores of the Bosphorus, Lewis advanced through a country inhabited by professed friends and secret enemies. The Greeks beheld with terror the innumerable swarms which had poured from the west ; and the gates of the cities, both of Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders. The scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls ; the passes were fortified, the bridges broken down, and the stragglers were pillaged and murdered. The impetuous passions of
Manuel

Manuel Comnenus had been aroused by the numbers and martial spirit of the pilgrims of the West, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety of the empire; and the prince and the people combined to discourage the formidable emigration of their Christian brethren by every species of injury and oppression.

The emulation of the Germans had induced them to press forward to the scene of action; the lingering steps of the French had been retarded by jealousy; their junction might have commanded success, their division ensured defeat. At Nice, Lewis met Conrad, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious but unfortunate combat on the banks of the Mæander, and reduced to exchange the proud dream of conquest for a secure passage to Palestine by sea, in some vessels which he borrowed from the Greeks. Yet the misfortunes of the Germans served not to abate the swelling hopes of the Franks; and Lewis, without experience or caution, advanced through the same country to a similar fate. The van-guard, with the Oriflame of St. Denys, had rushed forward with inconsiderate speed; and the king, who commanded the rear, when he arrived in the evening camp, could no longer discern his companions through the gloom of the night. Instead of the friendly voices of their countrymen, the French were astonished and dismayed by the dissonant and hostile shouts of the Turks: Their terror and disorder were increased by the darkness which involved them; and they were encompassed and overwhelmed by the innumerable host of the infidels. The king himself had displayed his valour in the foremost ranks, and owed his safety to the darkness of the night and the prowess of his own arm. In the general discomfiture he had climbed up a tree, and on the dawn of day he escaped alive, but almost alone, to the camp
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of the van-guard. The condition of this part of the army could afford to Lewis but little consolation ; the minds of the soldiers were depressed by the irreparable loss of their companions ; the same fate seemed to impend over them ; their fainting steps were pursued by the ferocious myriads of the Turks, inflamed by victory, and insatiate of blood : Their fears were augmented by their ignorance of the country ; and the majority of the guides, which they had brought from Laodicea, had perished in the late disastrous action. After a march, memorable for every species of distress, they beheld with transport the welcome towers of Salia, and hastened to shelter themselves within the friendly walls. The sight of the ocean relieved them from the dread of future dangers by land ; and Lewis was content to embark in that sea-port, the wretched remnant of his host that could be supplied with vessels, and direct his course for Antioch. He was received with open arms by Raymond of Poitiers, who ruled that principality with independent authority : But to public calamity succeeded the pang of domestic misery ; and it could not be concealed from the eye of a tender husband, that the fidelity of his queen Eleanor had been sacrificed to repay the hospitality of Raymond.

From this scene of his dishonor Lewis, accompanied by his reluctant queen, hoisted sail
A. D. 1149. for Jerusalem, and rejoined in the sacred city the former rival of his glory, the present partner of his distress. Yet the ardour of the emperor and the king was not totally extinguished ; their zeal was revived by the sight of the holy sepulchres ; and with the shattered remains of their forces and the troops of Baldwin the Third, king of Jerusalem, they determined to form the siege of Damascus. Strong in itself, and in the valour and number of its garrison, the city was still more effectually protected

by the arts of corruption, and the mutual jealousies of the besiegers. The christians of the east listened with disgust to the rumour, that Damascus, when taken, would be the reward of the count of Flanders: Their envy induced them to betray the cause in which they had embarked; the convoys were surpris'd; the works were insulted; and Conrad and Lewis were at length compelled to relinquish the hopeless enterprise; and with the personal fame of piety and courage prepared to return to Europe. From a port in Syria, the king of France steered towards Calabria; but his feeble squadron was oppress'd by the numerous fleets of the Greeks; and the monarch himself was perhaps rescued from captivity by the accidental encounter of the naval forces of Sicily, commanded by their celebrated Admiral George. From Calabria, directing his footsteps to Rome, after a personal conference with the Roman pontiff, Eugenius the Third, and lamenting the disgrace of the Christian arms, he arrived in his own capital, from which he had been so fatally deluded by the visionary prospect of Asiatic conquest.

The frantic zeal of Lewis had deeply wounded the internal strength and prosperity of his kingdom; while he wandered with a fanatic crowd over the plains of Asia, in pursuit of a phantom which only lur'd him to destruction, the absence of the myriads who followed his devious footsteps, were sensibly felt and lamented in France. The plough-share of the husbandman had been exchanged for the sword; and in every province the lands presented a dreary waste; the castles and buildings a pile of ruins; and the wailing voice of the widow and the orphan was incessantly heard. The return of the monarch, instead of being adorned with the spoils of Asia, was accompanied by shame and disappointment; and the innumerable host he had led forth, was dwindled to a slender

der train of martial followers. Yet he was received by the loud and heart-felt acclamations of his people; and the misfortunes of his enterprize were lost in the moment of transport. Far different was the forlorn situation of St. Bernard; his own prudence, and the example of Peter the Hermit, had induced him to reject the command of the armies which had been proffered; within the walls of his convent he had anxiously awaited the effects of the enthusiasm which he had kindled, and the event of the predictions which he had hazarded; all was gloomy and hopeless, and the successive tidings from Palestine, alarmed, astonished, and overwhelmed the unfortunate abbot. By the voice of an indignant people, he was loudly accused as a false prophet, the author of the public and private mourning; his enemies exulted, his friends blushed, and his apology was slow and unsatisfactory. In vain he urged the implicit obedience which was due to the commands of the pope; in vain he accused the failings and vices of the pilgrims, as the source of their own misfortunes. His predictions had been bold and unqualified; the devout adventurers had been allured by the promise that they should satiate their thirst of spoil and conquest: The cup that was presented to them was filled with the bitter ingredients of defeat and distress; and the Orientals, who confided in the Koran, had triumphed over the Christians of the west, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened.

But if the clamours of France might so justly accuse the blind confidence of one ecclesiastic, the tribute of spotless praise and applause was with equal propriety paid to another. Suger, abbot of St. Denys, had in vain endeavoured to divert his sovereign from an enterprize more glorious than prudent; and without assuming the pretensions of prophetic inspiration,

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he had foretold the miseries which naturally might be expected from the thoughtless and precipitate undertaking. His counsels could not preserve the inconsiderate multitude from the fate which awaited them in Palestine, but his care and wisdom alleviated the distress of the kingdom entrusted to his guidance, and deserted by her sovereign, her nobility, and great part of her inhabitants. That kingdom he preserved in peace, while her rival sister, England, was afflicted by the impetuous passions of Stephen, who filled the throne, and the pretensions of the empress Matilda, who aspired to it. The count of Dreux, the brother of the king of France, had preceded the return of that monarch; and envious of his superior dignity, and impatient to wrest from his royal hand the sceptre, had artfully scattered through the land the rumours of royal imprudence and incapacity. His intrigues were detected, his ambitious schemes were baffled by the vigilance and firmness of Suger; and the abbot of St. Denys, on the arrival of Lewis, resigned to him the royal authority, pure and undiminished.

The tempest of civil war, which agitated England and was felt through Normandy, first attracted the attention of Lewis; and his support was claimed by and allowed to Stephen, whose son Eustace had yielded him homage for the Duchy of Normandy, and had married his sister Constance. But his thoughts were soon after entirely engrossed by a care of a more domestic nature: The levity of his wife Eleanor, and her suspicious partiality for her uncle Raymond, prince of Antioch, were deeply engraved on his mind. The wise admonitions of the abbot of St. Denys were again disregarded; and he determined to divorce from his bed, a licentious female, whose fidelity to it he more than doubted. With Eleanor, he restored her ample inheritance, the fertile and important

tant counties of Guienne and Poitou; and the facility with which he parted from these wealthy provinces, has for ever annexed to him the surname of *Young*. The princess herself fulfilled the prediction of Suger, and threw herself, with her valuable possessions, into the arms of Henry Plantagenet, the son of the Empress Matilda; while Lewis endeavoured to console himself for her loss with the charms of Constance, the daughter of Alphonso, the king of Castile, whom he immediately afterwards espoused.

The arms and intrigues of Henry had already pervaded the Duchy of Normandy; the cities had opened their gates, and received him as their prince; and with Guienne and Poitou, the fruits of his marriage with Eleanor, his possessions in France were at least equal to those of Lewis, the character of that prince began already to unfold itself; bold, penetrating and ambitious, the meridian blaze of manhood was ushered in by the dawning lustre of his youth. To balance the influence he had attained, and the dominion he had acquired, the French monarch still more closely connected himself with his brother-in-law Eustace. But Suger unfortunately was no more; and the abbot of St. Denys, covered with years and glory, sunk into the grave, amidst the tears and lamentations of the people. The desultory incursions into Normandy were followed by an inglorious truce, and the experience of Lewis was vanquished by the flattery and negociations of the subtle son of Matilda.

Henry seized the favourable opportunity of this transient calm to transport himself with his mother into England. The throne of Stephen was shaken by the violence of his own passions, and the arts and personal prowess of his rival; but at the moment that the hostile armies expected the signal for battle, the bloody encounter

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was averted by the patriotic language of the earl of Arundel. The contending princes were reluctantly prevailed upon to sheath the sword by the general voice of their mutual followers; and a compromise was proposed and enforced, which preserved the crown to Stephen; during his life, and assured it to Henry at his death. Eustace alone rejected a treaty so fatal to his hopes of hereditary royalty. His resentment might once more have exposed the kingdom to the calamities of civil war; but a seasonable fever, perhaps the effect of disappointed ambition, extinguished with his last breath the torch of discord. The father survived not long to deplore the loss of his son; and Henry, without opposition and without a competitor, ascended the throne of England, amidst the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The truce between Henry and Lewis had expired, and the latter had renewed his attempts on Normandy: But the accession of the for- A. D. 1155.
mer to the crown of England, allowed the French monarch no longer to flatter himself with the hopes of success; and he readily listened to the voice of peace. Though by no means indifferent to the growing greatness of his rival, he wanted power or ability to repress it; and his character is more happily delineated by the epithet of good than great. He had scarce established the tranquillity of his kingdom, before he undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James, at Compostella, the capital of Galicia; and the devout expedition was attended by an interview with his father-in-law, the king of Castile, and with Sancho the Fifth, who filled with reputation and ability the throne of Navarre. On his return, Lewis assembled a splendid council at Soissons, distinguished by the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Troyes, Nevers, and Soissons, and a long train of powerful and noble vassals; but still

more memorable by the influence of the sovereign, who engaged the haughty barons to swear to a ten years peace, and to submit their differences during that space to the decision of justice, instead of appealing to the sword.

Soon after the council of Soissons, the count of Flanders had assumed the holy cross; but his design of marching to the succour of his Christian brethren in Palestine was interrupted by death, and his last breath bequeathed his son and his dominions to the protection of Henry of England. This trust, which augmented the influence and power of a neighbour already too formidable, was beheld with a jealous eye by Lewis; and the arts with which Henry had condescended to soothe the mind of his rival, gave way to the ardent desire of possessing the city and diocese of Toulouse. These were claimed by the king of England, in right of his wife Eleanor; and he asserted, that her ancestor, the duke of Aquitain, had only mortgaged and not actually alienated them. The money that had been advanced he offered to restore, and enforced his proffer by a numerous army drawn from every part of his dominions, and with which he invested Toulouse; but that city was defended by the count in person; and the undaunted resolution which he displayed in repelling the attacks of the besiegers, was increased by his just expectations of succour and support from the king of France. He had married Constance, the widow of Eustace, and sister to Lewis; and that monarch hesitated not to march to the relief of his vassal and his kinsman. In a successful action he cut his way through the lines of the assailants, and by his presence revived the drooping spirits of the besieged. Henry, convinced that the enterprize was hopeless from the first moment that the succours entered the town, abandoned the siege, having

having first, by a compliment, assured the king of France, that he could not think of pursuing his attacks against a city which was honored by his personal protection. From Toulouse, the king of England poured the torrent of his arms over the prostrate country of Beauvais; razed the strong fortrefs of Gerberoy, and extended his devastations within sight of the walls of Paris. For two successive years, the inhabitants of France and Normandy were afflicted by the desultory incursions of their respective princes: The exhausted state of both kingdoms induced them at length seriously to negotiate a peace. The homage in person of Henry was accepted for the Duchy of Normandy, and his son, of the same name, acknowledged by a similar ceremony the conditions on which he held Anjou and Maine: While Richard, the second son of the king of England, was betrothed to the daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and was assigned, for his future maintenance, the county of Guienne. The origin of the war, the claim of Henry to the city of Toulouse, was buried in a studied silence; and that prince was left to resume or abandon, as occasion offered, his powerful pretensions.

The peace was scarce concluded before the death of Constance, the daughter of the king of Castile, and the consort of Lewis left that prince a widower; two daughters had proved the only issue of his marriage with the deceased queen; and the entreaties of his nobles, his concern for the tranquillity of his kingdom, and his desire to perpetuate the sceptre in the hands of his posterity, all concurred in directing him to a third marriage. Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, earl of Champagne, was the object of his choice; and his alliance with that princess firmly attached to his interest the different branches of that powerful family.

A. D.

1160. 1162.

ly. From the celebration of these nuptials, his attention was diverted by the schism of the church, which had broken forth on the death of pope Adrian. Alexander the Third, and Victor the Fourth, both urged their pretensions to the vacant chair of St. Peter : The former was supported by the kings of England and France, who, at an interview at Toucy, nourished the spiritual pride of the Roman pontiff, by condescending to hold the stirrups and bridle of his horse ; while the cause of the latter was espoused by Frederick of Germany. For eighteen years, Europe was enflamed and scandalized by the angry passions of these holy prelates ; and the perseverance and claims of Victor were transmitted to two nominal successors, who were branded with the appellation of *antipope*, and who yielded not till after a long and obstinate contest to the superior fortune of Alexander.

The hostile flame which had so long consumed the subjects of France and England, had been extinguished by the suppliant voice of one prelate ; it was rekindled, and blazed with redoubled violence, at the imperious command of another. An hasty spark had indeed arisen from an event most likely to have cemented the friendship of Henry and Lewis ; the eldest son of the former had married Margaret ; the daughter of the latter, by his queen Constance ; and the king of England, as the portion of the princess, had seized Gisors with some other places of importance ; but their differences were adjusted by the mediation of the Roman pontiff, and the latent embers of discord slept till awakened by the breath of Thomas Becket.

This extraordinary man was the son of a burgher, and educated in the schools of London ; he afterwards continued his studies at Paris ; was received into the family of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained the benefices of St. Mary le Strand,

Strand, and Otteford in Kent, with a prebendary in each of the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. Thus enabled to support himself in affluence, he retired to Bologna, and applied himself to the civil and canon law. His various attainments recommended him as a proper person to be entrusted with the most weighty and delicate negociations; his abilities were known and approved at the court of Rome; and before the death of Stephen, he had been nominated archdeacon of Canterbury. On the accession of Henry, his rise was rapid, and his influence unbounded; he was promoted to the office of chancellor, a post of the greatest profit, power, and dignity in the realm. To this was added a number of ecclesiastical preferments, and the custody of the tower was entrusted to his vigilance and fidelity. His expences kept pace with the honours which were accumulated on him; and his immense revenues were scarce sufficient to supply a magnificence which bordered on profusion. His table was open to persons of every rank; and the most exquisite dainties were purchased for his entertainments. Superb in his apparel, his furniture, and his equipage; his palace was the school of education for the sons of the nobility; and prince Henry himself was committed to his care and tuition. Some idea of his resources may be formed from the circumstance of fifty-two clerks being employed in adjusting his private accounts; some conjecture of his lavish expenditure may be drawn from his train, in which were enrolled three hundred knights; and when he negotiated the marriage between the son of Henry and the daughter of Lewis, Paris was astonished at the retinue of a subject which exceeded one thousand persons. Above the opinion or the censure of the world, his amusements burst through the circle of ecclesiastical propriety; the numerous hours which he set apart from business were appropriated to hawks
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and hounds ; these sports were frequently exchanged for the martial exercises of the field : His skill in the tournament has provoked the reproachful praise of the historian ; and his triumph in Normandy over a French nobleman of approved valour and dexterity, whom he unhorsed, and whose courser he led away, was no small ornament to his character in a daring and warlike age.

Such were the singular features of the man, whom Henry, contrary to the advice of his mother Matilda, determined to place on the archiepiscopal throne of England. The death of Theobald was followed by the appointment of Thomas Becket to the vacant See of Canterbury ; and in a devout and superstitious age, the authority and influence which were annexed to the dangerous promotion, were sufficient to overwhelm a feeble, and to embarrass the most firm monarch. Even Henry himself, haughty and intrepid as he was, beheld with terror the formidable power of the archbishop of Canterbury. when guided by the abilities and animated by the invincible spirit of Becket. From the moment that prelate was translated to the sacred dignity, his life and manners proclaimed the change of his condition ; his garments were coarse, his repasts abstemious ; he practised with unrelenting severity all the austerities of his order, and his back was frequently bloody with the discipline of the cord : But under the mask of humility he concealed an inordinate and turbulent pride ; and his labours were incessantly directed to raise the mitre above the crown.

From the indignation of his sovereign, whom he had presumed to insult and defy, Becket escaped to Flanders, and was readily fortified by the Papal authority, and honoured by a visit from the king of France. When driven by the menaces of Henry from the convent of Pontigny,

A. D.
1164, 1168.

Pontigny, he was hospitably received by Lewis, at Sens, who allowed him an honourable retreat in the convent of St. Colombe. The persecution of the former was averted by the protection of the latter; and the discordant sentiments of the two monarchs soon displayed themselves in open hostilities. The territories of the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the crown of France, were invaded by Henry; and Lewis, to divert the fury of his arms, and to support the sinking cause of the count, entered with a powerful army into Normandy. A war, which had been hastily embarked in, was succeeded by a transient truce: and the sword was scarcely sheathed before it was drawn again. The barons of Poitou and Guienne, dissatisfied with Henry, who had endeavoured to abridge their privileges, listened to the promises of Lewis, who inflamed their discontents and encouraged the spirit of revolt. The standard of opposition to their sovereign was openly erected; and for their perseverance in their alliance with France, they even delivered hostages to that crown. Henry, informed of their disaffection, with an army superior to resistance, ravaged the open country, razed the castles of the rebels, and levelled to the ground the revolted towns: But Poitou still confided in the friendly arms of France; and Henry in vain accused the treachery of that prince, and demanded the hostages which he had received from his faithless subjects. The refusal of Lewis was peremptory; and although he consented to extend the duration of the truce, yet the interval was assiduously employed in reanimating the spirits of the Poitevins, and in exciting a fresh insurrection in Brittany. This was scarce quelled by the presence and activity of the king of England, before the contagion of revolt pervaded and broke out in the province of Maine, and Lewis seized the favourable opportunity again to invade Normandy.

mandy. Yet his progress was slow and indecisive; and while he submitted to the mortification of retreating on the approach of his rival, his rear was suddenly attacked and routed by the vigorous charge of Henry.

The repeated disappointments of Lewis induced him at length to listen to the voice of peace; and the differences of the rival monarchs were adjusted in a conference at Montmirail. The homage of Henry, and of his sons, Henry and Richard, was accepted for Normandy, Anjou and Maine, Guienne, and the county of Brittany, which had been settled by the king of England on his younger son Geoffry, and whose absence was supplied in the ceremony by his elder brother Henry. But Lewis was not entirely indifferent to the interest of Becket, whose cause he had espoused, and whose protection had first kindled the flame of war: His powerful mediation was answered by the moderation of Henry; "I am not," said the monarch, "the least in power and reputation of the sovereigns who have ruled the kingdom of England; and men equally good and holy as Becket have, doubtless, possessed the See of Canterbury: yet I am content to restore him to the archiepiscopal throne, provided he will pay the same respect to me as the most powerful of his predecessors have paid to the most insignificant of mine." But this reasonable proposal was rejected or eluded by the haughty and inflexible prelate; the condition was still clogged with the reservation of the honour of God and the privileges of the church; and Lewis, relinquishing the vain hope of accommodation, was content to continue to Becket his assurances of personal support and protection.

The reader will probably be impatient to hasten to the fate of that turbulent man: A reconciliation was at length effected by the united efforts of the king of France

France and pope Alexander the Third, and Becket re-crossed the seas, and once more occupied the see of Canterbury. But his arrogant spirit had not been humbled by adversity ; he launched forth his thunders against his former opponents ; suspended the archbishop of York. and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury. Henry was in Normandy while the tranquility of his kingdom was violated by the frantic proceedings of the turbulent prelate ; and he received the mortifying intelligence with the most acrimonious expressions against the presumptuous churchman. The exclamation, " that he " had no friends about him, otherwise he would not " have been so long exposed to the insults of that un- " grateful hypocrite," sunk deep in the minds of four of his most resolute attendants ; they determined to gratify their sovereign's secret inclinations ; and after an oath to revenge his quarrel, they retired from court, and embarked for England.

Their sudden departure, and some menacing expressions which had escaped them, alarmed the mind of the king ; and fearful of the event, he sent after them, to forbid their committing any violence : But the fatal deed was already perpetrated ; the conspirators, after reproaching, had followed the devoted victim to vespers : and as soon as Becket reached the altar, their rage was satiated, and the life of the archbishop extinguished by repeated wounds. The sacred pavement was stained with the blood of his mangled body ; the holy altar itself was besmeared with his brains ; and the circumstances of the murder, the place where it was executed, and the fortitude with which the prelate had resigned himself to his fate, impressed a devoutly factious multitude. Years of licentious revelry and turbulent ambition were effaced by the sufferings of a single moment ; and the presumption and obstinacy of Becket were re-warded

warded with the glory of martyrdom. His shrine was the scene of innumerable miracles ; and Henry found the archbishop, when dead, equally formidable as when alive. The intelligence of his fate had been received by that monarch with real or affected concern : By the most humiliating concessions, he with difficulty disarmed the resentment of the pope ; and the arrogant spirit of the martyr himself must have been gratified and appeased, could it have foreseen the prostrate posture of the monarch at his tomb, and the severe penance which he endured.

We have already observed, that the very alliances between the kings of France and England, which ought to have ensured their friendship, were the frequent source of their discord. Henry had caused his eldest son to be crowned in England, while his consort was in France ; and Lewis, to efface or avenge the affront, turned his arms against the Duchy of Normandy. But the prudence of the king of England extinguished this spark of hostility almost as soon as it was kindled ; he promised that the ceremony of the coronation should be again repeated ; and Margaret was solemnly crowned at Winchester with her husband, by the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Evreux and Winchester. On the return of the young couple to Normandy, they were permitted to visit the court of France ; and Lewis first poisoned the mind of his son-in-law with that ardent desire of independence, the origin of equal affliction to his father and himself. Greedy of power, and impatient of control, the heir of the throne considered himself eclipsed and oppressed by the virtues and glory of him who filled it ; and whatever place was the residence of his parent, became immediately hateful to the aspiring son. The term for his visit in France expired ; he had returned to England with reluctance ; and disgusted with a situation

tion of restraint, he now escaped from the court of Henry to seek shelter in that of Lewis. The pretence that his life was in danger thinly concealed his want of filial duty ; but Lewis received the royal fugitive with open arms, and prepared to avenge his ideal injuries by the sword. The policy of the king of France was matured by age and experience ; in successive negotiations he had been duped by the superior genius of Henry ; and sensible of former errors, he was inflamed by the desire of retrieving his reputation : The present opportunity was favourable, and he was determined to improve it to the utmost. He was convinced that Henry still remembered with indignation, the assistance and protection which he had afforded to Becket ; that he only waited till his own kingdom was in a state of internal tranquility to resent it ; and that it was his business, by continual disturbances at home, to engage his attention, and to prevent his ambition from proving troublesome to his neighbours abroad.

On every side the situation of Henry presented difficulties which must have overwhelmed a mind less firm or less fruitful in resources. The pope still nourished a secret resentment of the fate of Becket ; while the English regarded with reverence the tomb of the martyr, and loudly accused their sovereign as the author of his death. On the one side, William, king of Scotland, formidable from his situation, and hostile in his disposition, menaced him with invasion ; on the other, his new acquisitions in Ireland, a country which had lately submitted to his government, required his attention. Prompted by Lewis, his son Henry demanded the absolute investiture of Normandy ; and on his refusal the father beheld with astonishment the standard of revolt joined by his queen Eleanor, and his younger sons Richard and Geoffrey : The nobles
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of Normandy, of Anjou, Guienne, and Brittany were already in arms; and the king, surrounded with open and secret enemies, could only confide in his abilities, and the justice of his cause.

Lewis, animated by the distress of his rival and the unanimity of his own subjects, by A. D. 1173. force and fraud rendered himself master of Vernueil, and delivered it to the flames; but the appearance of Henry at the head of an army inured to danger, fatigue and discipline, checked his further progress, and even exposed his rear to defeat and disgrace. The different confederates who had promised to espouse the cause of the prince, either deserted their engagements, or were baffled by the superior skill of their sovereign: William of Scotland, harassed and pursued, was glad to subscribe the peace which was proffered him; and the banner of insurrection, which had been unfurled in Brittany, was followed by the total rout of those who had resorted to it. Depressed by these unexpected disappointments, the mind of Lewis for a moment inclined to peace; conferences were opened at Gisors, but they only ended in mutual reproaches; and a short truce for the Easter holidays, which was afterwards agreed upon, allowed both parties to prepare more effectually for war.

To appease the murmurs of his people, Henry submitted his back to the scourge of the A. D. 1174. Monks, and watched a whole night near Becket's tomb. Whatever might be the merit of that saint's intercession, the mortification of Lewis was severe and unqualified; the moment that his hand was stretched out to seize it, the visionary conquests eluded his grasp, and his dream of prosperity vanished from his sight. The Earl of Flanders lamented his unsuccessful attempt on England; the king of Scotland, who had violated the peace, was taken prisoner

prisoner at Alnwick; the revolted barons returned once more to their allegiance; and Lewis, accompanied by the young prince Henry, was compelled by the approach of the king of England to raise the siege of Rouen, which he had invested. This last disgrace determined the French monarch to renew the negociations for peace; with an honourable regard for the princes who had confided in his protection, their interests were first provided for; but Richard, who rejected the treaty, was left to the discretion of his father, and a transient tranquillity was restored between the rival kingdoms.

The terms of reconciliation were scarce adjusted, before they were once more menaced
A. D. 1177. by the remonstrances of Lewis. Alice, his youngest daughter was betrothed to Richard, the second son of the king of England; and the king of France loudly accused the evasive conduct of Henry, who retained the princess at his court without solemnizing the marriage. The answer of Henry was a demand of the city of Bourges, which had been promised as the dowry of Alice. This engagement was denied by Lewis, and the monarchs agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of the pope. But the Roman pontiff waved the discussion, to turn the united arms of the princes, to the relief of the Holy Land. Henry and Lewis both received the cross, and both settled their mutual preparations for executing their solemn engagement; yet neither of these monarchs embarked in the perilous undertaking. The ardour of Lewis was cooled by his former misfortunes, and the nobility of France strongly remonstrated against the hazardous and unprofitable enterprise. While Henry, whose absolution for the murder of Becket had been purchased by a solemn vow of
invading

invading Palestine, when summoned by the pope, still found the embarrassed situation of his affairs demanded his presence in his own dominions.

An anxious regard for the succession of his crown and the tranquillity of his kingdom, had induced Lewis to bestow his hand on his present consort; and his wishes had been gratified by a son, to whom he had given the name of Philip. But the fears of the monarch were soon awakened by the danger of the prince: As the royal youth, whose tender years were scarce equal to the task, pursued the chase in the forest of Compiègne, his horse run away with him; and sequestered from the search of his attendants, the heir of France was condemned to pass a tedious night, oppressed by solitude and despair. His feeble mind was not capable of sustaining the horror of his situation; and when found in the morning, a dangerous fit of illness was the effect of the fright. The pious father determined to visit the tomb of Becket, and solicit the interposition of a saint who had experienced his earthly protection. He was received at Canterbury by Henry with royal hospitality and magnificence; after having presented his offerings at the shrine of Thomas, he embarked again for France, and his arrival was attended by the welcome intelligence of the recovery of his son.

But the agitation of his mind had fatally affected the health of Lewis, already rapidly descending into the vale of years. His life was assailed by a sudden stroke of apoplexy; and though his senses were restored, yet the palsy seized his right side, and announced the danger that impended over him. Sensible of his doubtful situation, he determined to hasten the coronation of his son, and the ceremony was performed in the presence of the heir of England, and

A. D.
1179, 1180.

and the count of Flanders, by the archbishop of Rheims. To this important care succeeded the marriage of the prince; and Philip, at the age of fourteen, espoused Isabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault. But the tranquillity of Lewis was established too late, and the progress of disease could not be checked by the prospect of happiness; in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign, he expired at Paris; and if the prudence and judgment of the king, in restoring the dowry of Eleanor, have been arraigned, his humanity has been seldom and his piety has never been impeached: A tender husband and an affectionate father, the errors of the monarch were lost in the virtues of the man.

CHAPTER VIII.

Accession of Philip the Second, surnamed Augustus;—Embarks for the Holy Land with Richard of England.—Siege of Acre.—Philip returns to France.—Successive Wars with Richard and John.—Battle of Bouvines.—Death and Character of Philip.

PHILIP when he assumed the reigns of government was but in the fifteenth year of his age. The count of Flanders, the uncle of his queen, was suffered to enjoy the name and honours of regent; but although his counsels might influence, his authority was never permitted to control the inclination of the youthful monarch; and his subjects might discern an unbounded thirst of dominion, a jealous

zeal for the royal prerogative, in their new sovereign. From his birth, which established the peaceable succession to the crown of France, Philip attained the expressive surname of the *Gift of God*. The voice of flattery in his more mature years had gratified his vanity with the appellation of *Conqueror*, and the *Magnanimous*; and after his death, the policy he had displayed was productive of the addition of *Augustus*. The first and last of these names might be due to the auspicious moment in which he entered the world, and the manner in which he conducted himself through it; but his rage for conquest was checked by the personal valour of Richard of England and his *magnanimity* is but ill attested by the envious perfidy with which he deserted that prince on the hostile coast of Palestine.

In a licentious age, the attention of the king of France was invariably engaged to maintain the dignity of his character; and the court was purged by his severity of a motley train of buffoons and jesters whose coarse wit and mimic gestures were the delight of a people, yet ignorant of that politeness and refinement for which they have been since so eminently distinguished. To these personal cares succeeded others of a more public nature. The murmurs of the people loudly accused the wealth of the Jews, who had possessed themselves of one third of the landed property throughout the dominions of Philip. Their riches, the fruits of oppressive usury, had procured them the patronage and protection of the nobles; but the determination of the king while it offended the barons gratified the commons; and this miserable and fugitive race were compelled to retire from the territory of France, with only their personal effects. The mercenary soldiers who had served in the wars of his father, had spread themselves over the defenceless country, and

and indulged themselves in every species of wanton outrage; they were reduced or destroyed by the arts and forces of Philip; to provide in future against a similar evil, and to embellish the cities which acknowledged his authority he commanded the inhabitants to pave and to surround with walls sufficient for their immediate security, the towns in which they dwelt; and the progress of the work was hastened by the presence of the king himself, whose vigilant eye pervaded every part of his dominions.

The jealousies of the court began already to threaten the public tranquillity. Adelaide, the mother of the king, was inflamed by the partiality of her son to the count of Flanders, who, without children himself, had bestowed on his niece the royal dowry of the county of Artois, and the district fertilized by the river Lys: With the queen dowager was joined her brother William, cardinal and archbishop of Rheims. But their intrigues to dissolve the marriage with Isabella were vain; and the displeasure of Philip was displayed by appointing the coronation of himself and his consort at the Abbey of St. Denys, and receiving his crown from the hands of the archbishop of Sens, instead of those of the archbishop of Rheims, Adelaide, to support her faction, implored the assistance of Henry of England; who listened with pleasure to her request, repaired immediately to Normandy, and received with great respect the queen herself, and her brothers, the counts of Blois, Sancerre, and Chartres. With a numerous army he advanced to second their demands; but Philip was already prepared to encounter this hereditary foe; and the king of England, doubtful of the event, preferred to the chance of battle the arts of negotiation. Even in these the early wisdom of Philip was conspicuous, averse to either extreme, he rejected the presumptuous claims

of the rebels, and the advice of the count of Flanders, to decide the dispute by the sword. To his mother he professed the duty of a son, but at the same time asserted the independent authority of a sovereign; to the lords, who had engaged in the revolt, he offered a free pardon; and their ready submission broke the measures of Henry, who consented to retire, after confirming the former peace between the crowns of France and England.

The partiality of the king to the count of Flanders had been the origin of the former rupture; yet but a short time elapsed before that nobleman himself revolted against the royal authority. He had beheld with disgust his counsels neglected, and an accommodation preferred to the hazard of war; his disgust was increased by the powerful motives of interest. The countess of Flanders was a princess of the royal blood, and the heiress of the count of Vermandois; her husband, on her death without issue, asserted his right to the succession confirmed by the separate grants of Lewis and Philip. But the king of France was too deeply interested in so important an acquisition, to be restrained by the common ties of equity, and his claims assumed an appearance of justice from his declaration, that the grant was only for the life of the countess. Arms alone could decide the dispute, and the count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to allure the barons to his standard, by representing the injury as general, and the cause as common. Almost alone and unsupported, he was compelled to yield, and thought himself happy to attain by a compromise the towns of Perron and St. Quintin, and to surrender the rest of the county of Vermandois to the crown.

A. D.
1180, 1182.

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The association of the younger Henry to the throne of England has been already remarked, and his father had constant reason to repent his hasty partiality to an ungrateful son. Vain, fickle, and turbulent, his repeated rebellions had broken the happiness and assailed the life of his parent; continually baffled and pardoned, his disappointed spirit urged him at length to assume the cross; and while he prepared for his departure to the Holy Land, he was seized with a mortal indisposition at Martel, in the county of Turenne. His last expressions were those of penitence, and his death opened the path of royalty to his brother Richard, equally restless and more enterprising. His widow, the daughter of the late king of France, by his second wife Constance, had lived childless in his embraces; and Philip now claimed Gisors, and some other dependencies in Normandy, which had been allotted as the dowry of Margaret; but Henry, unwilling to part with them, offered to conclude the marriage between Richard, now become the heir of the crown, and Alice, the sister of Philip, provided he was suffered to retain the disputed territory. The proposal was acquiesced in, and the monarchs parted with mutual professions of esteem and friendship.

The moments that could be ravished from the national enmity and hostile encounters of England and France, Philip assiduously employed in the internal regulation of his dominions, and in repressing the formidable enterprises of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. But the calm produced by the late peace was of short duration, and the subjects of Philip and Henry were soon again agitated by the tempest of war. The marriage of Alice with Richard was still studiously delayed; Geoffrey, the second son of Henry, and duke of Brittany, had revolted from his father, and acknowledged himself the vassal of France;

France; his undutiful designs were interrupted by death, and he expired of a fall from his horse at a tournament. But Philip retained from Henry, his widow Constance, his infant daughter Eleanor, and a posthumous son named Arthur; and asserted his claim to protect and watch over the offspring of his vassal. Richard had also refused to yield homage to the king of France for the counties of Guienne and Poitou; and Philip, after experiencing the ineffectual mediation of Cardinal Octavian, the legate of the pope, invaded with a formidable army, Berry, and laid siege to Chateauroux, on the Banks of the Indre. The spirits of the garrison were animated by the presence of Richard and John, the sons of the English monarch; and Henry himself alarmed for the safety of the princes, hastily collected his forces, and advanced toward their relief. In anxious suspense, the hostile armies awaited the signal of battle, and the dawning glory of Philip was opposed by the mature renown of Henry; but the encounter was averted by the legates of pope Urban the Third: These thundered their anathemas against the first who should begin the engagement. The devotion of the princes wrested their weapons from their hands; a peace was immediately concluded; and the rival monarchs engaged to unite their forces for the relief of the christians in Palestine, oppressed by the victorious career of the great Saladin.

The birth of a son and heir who was named Lewis, A. D. 1187. slackened not the preparations for war; and the clergy were compelled, though reluctantly to contribute large sums toward the proposed expedition. These were distinguished by the name of Saladin's tax, expressive of the purpose for which they were levied. Yet when the hopes of the Oriental christians were awakened, and the flame of enthusiasm was again kindled in the west, the arms of Philip and Henry were once more turned against each

each other ; and the forces which might have checked the progress, and overturned the empire of the infidels, were ineffectually consumed in their bloody conflicts.

Richard was discontented with the incessant delays which constantly impeded his marriage with Alice ; and Philip nourished his A. D. 1188. rising disaffection and prepared to avail himself of the continual discord which afflicted the family and embarrassed the affairs of the English monarch. He himself suggested to the impetuous prince, to renew the former quarrel with the count of Toulouse ; and under pretence of avenging the insult, the king of France entered Berry, and possessed himself of Chateauroux, Busençais, Argenton, and Leuroux. Mont-Richard was taken by assault, and reduced to ashes ; and with equal facility he extended his conquests over Touraine and Auvergne.

The age of Henry did not prevent him from taking the field to oppose the youth of his rival : The veteran warrior buckled on his armour ; but doubtful of the event of war, he proposed that instead of Richard, his son John should espouse the princess Alice. The offer was rejected by Philip and by Richard, who now openly acted with him ; even the mediation and menaces of the pope's legate were treated with scorn by the king of France, and his sacred life was with difficulty preserved from the sword of the British prince. The conference was broken off to resume the operations of war ; Philip and Richard entered the province of Maine ; forced the gates of Ferté-Bernard, on the river Huisne ; received the submission of Monfort, Bonnestable and Beaumont ; and almost surprised Henry, astonished at their progress in the city of Mans. From the flames of that city he escaped to Frenelles ; while the confederates advanced

advanced with uninterrupted success, and the standard of France was planted on the walls of Tours, and displayed on the Banks of the Loire.

Fortune had forsaken the declining age of Henry, and he was compelled to purchase a peace
A. D. 1189 by renewing his homage to Philip, and consenting to the coronation of Richard. The marriage of that prince with Alice, was to be celebrated on his return from the Holy Land, and he was gratified with the immediate payment of twenty thousand marks of silver. The treaty was signed at Azay; and in two days afterwards Henry expired at Chinon, his last moments, embittered by the ingratitude of his son John, who had deserted his father to join the standard and partake the prosperity of Philip.

That monarch might well exult at the prospect before him; he had humbled the turbulent pride of his nobles at home, and established his reputation abroad; he was delivered by the death of Henry from a dangerous and vigilant rival; and Richard, his successor, was bound to him by the ties of gratitude, and the sanctity of oaths. Infatiate of fame, and enamoured of war, the kings of France and England prepared to fulfil their engagements, and unfurl the sacred banner of the cross; while Richard sailed from Marseilles, Philip embarked at Genoa, after having entrusted the administration of his kingdom, under certain restrictions, to his mother Adelaide and the cardinal archbishop of Rheims.

After escaping a tempest which scattered the royal fleet of France, Philip cast anchor on the coast of Sicily, and in eight days afterwards beheld the sails of Richard enter the Port of Messina. The island was governed by Tancred, whose regal title was disputed by Constance, the wife of the emperor Henry,

Henry, the stedfast ally of the French monarch; and Jane, the dowager queen, and sister of Richard, was a prisoner to the reigning prince. The appearance of two powerful armaments, commanded by leaders who had such plausible subjects of complaint, and whose moderation there was too much reason to distrust, excited the most painful sensations in the bosom of Tancred; but his throne was secured by the mutual jealousies of the rival kings; and the narrow island of Sicily was nearly converted into the theatre of their hostilities. Richard, to extort a sum of money from Tancred, which he asserted was due to him, attacked the city of Messina; and Philip, with the forces of France, prepared to defend it. With difficulty they were prevailed on to submit their differences to the calmer tribunal of reason: The marriage of Alice was still the thorn which rankled in their bosoms; Philip consented to receive again his sister, and Richard promised to restore Gisors, and the other places which had been so long retained as her dowry. Richard espoused the daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre; and after reducing the island of Cyprus, and imprisoning Isaac the sovereign, he pursued his voyage to the Holy Land, and cast anchor in the Bay of Acre, where he already found the Fleet of France.

The combined forces of these monarchs, powerful as they were, did not exceed the distress of the Christians of the east, and the difficulties which on every side opposed their enthusiastic enterprise. After the male line of Godfrey was extinct, the sceptre of Jerusalem was weakly held by Sybilla, the daughter of Baldwin, and the grand-daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou. Her fond partiality after the death of her child, had transferred it to her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that
his

his own own brother Geoffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely they would have made *me* a god." Raymond, count of Tripoli, the most powerful vassal of the crown, beheld the elevation of Lufignan with secret indignation; and excluded from the succession and regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptations of the sultan.

That title was due to the virtues and power of Saladin the *Great*, a name immortalized in the annals of Oriental history. The services of his father and uncle, Job and Shiracough, had opened to him the road to greatness; his powerful hand wrested the sceptre from the infant offspring of Noureddin; but although he usurped the throne he respected the life of the son of his benefactor; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. During a reign invariably prosperous he successively stretched his authority over Damascus, Aleppo and Diarbekir; Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector; the regions of Gemen or Happy-Arabia, were subdued by his brother; Jerusalem was ravished from the Christians; and at the hour of his death, his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. Intrepid and devout, he might boast of uniting the virtues of the hero and the saint: His youth had indeed been stained with the love of women and wine; but these temptations soon yielded to the more potent one of ambition. A coarse woollen was his garment; water was his only drink; and while he emulated the temperance, he surpassed the chastity of his Arabian prophet. Affable in his manners, and boundless in his liberality

lity he was patient with the meanest of his servants ; and at the time of his death no more than forty-seven drams of silver and one piece of gold were found in his treasury. In a reign of incessant warfare the tributes had been diminished, yet his dominions were embellished by the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and mosques.

The sinking kingdom of Jerusalem had been pressed on every side by the victories of Saladin ; the contracted state was encircled with a hostile line, and its existence was only protected by the truce which the Franks presumed to violate. A. D. 1187. Reginald, of Chatillon, a soldier of fortune, had seized a fortress on the edge of the desert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. The sultan condescended to complain ; rejoiced in the denial of justice ; and at the head of fourscore thousand horse invaded the Holy Land. The siege of Tiberias was suggested by the perfidious count of Tripoli ; and at the instigation of the same traitor, Lusignan drained his garrisons and advanced to the relief of it. By the arts of Raymond, the christians were betrayed into a camp destitute of water ; the count himself fled at the first onset ; Lusignan, with the loss of thirty thousand men, became the prisoner of the Sultan ; and three months after the battle of Tiberias, the victor appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem.

The holy city still contained sixty thousand Christians, and in the defence of the sepulchre of Christ it might reasonably have been expected that every Christian would have proved a soldier. But the devoted walls were shaken by the factions of those who should have united for the defence of them. Queen Sybilla trembled for herself and her captive husband ; and the most numerous portion of the inhabitants,

inhabitants, the Greek and Oriental Christians, preferred, from experience, the Mahometan before the Latin yoke. The resistance of the besieged was languid and ineffectual; fourteen days had scarce elapsed before the banners of the faithful were planted on the breach; and the humanity of the conqueror consented to accept the prostrate city and to spare the suppliant inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; the Franks and Latins were conducted to the sea ports of Syria and Egypt; ten pieces of gold were required for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child; and those who were unable to purchase their liberty, were to be detained in perpetual slavery.

The rapid and victorious career of Saladin was at length checked by the resistance of Tyre. To that port the troops and garrisons which had capitulated, were successively conducted; and their numbers were united and disciplined by the prudence and skill of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Their forces were swelled by the gradual arrival of succours from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice; from France, Normandy, and the western isles. The impatient multitude burst from the walls of the city, rejected the counsels and command of Conrad, and at the persuasion of Lusignan, who had been released from prison, formed the siege of Ptolemais or Acre. Above a year had already been consumed in the arduous undertaking; the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces had assembled under the command of Saladin; his camp was pitched within a few miles of Acre; and the Christians, though victorious in many a bloody encounter, thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate, already began to sink beneath despair; when, in the second spring of the siege, their hopes

were

were revived and their enemies dismayed by the appearance of the royal fleets of France and England.

The peculiar circumstance of these monarchs had compelled them to embrace, or at least to affect a reconciliation; but they scarce had landed before new causes of discontent ministered to their ancient enmity. Sybilla had expired without issue, and the crown of Jerusalem was claimed by the marquis of Montferrat, who had married the younger sister of that princess, and who asserted that the reign of Lusignan ended with the life of his consort. The pretensions of Conrad were supported by Philip; the regal title of Guy was fortified by Richard; and the Christian camp was scandalized by the unanimity of the infidels, and the discord of their own leaders. It was at length agreed to postpone the decision of this important dispute, and to press with redoubled vigour the siege of Acre. With rival valour they urged their separate attacks; the walls were shaken by their machines; and the attempts of Saladin were repelled by their vigilance and firmness. Their youthful emulation triumphed over every obstacle; and the garrison of Acre, no longer animated by hope, submitted to their fate, and opened their gates to the victors. Their lives and liberties were ransomed by two hundred thousand pieces of gold; the city was divided between the victorious kings of England and France; and each monarch established a separate and independent authority within the districts assigned him.

Even in the moment of victory, the christians might deplore the loss with which it was attended; and Philip, besides an obscure and nameless multitude, might lament the counts of Flanders, Bar, Blois, Sancerre, Eu, and Ponthieu,

A. D. 1191.

thieu, with a long list of nobles of inferior rank but equal gallantry. His own health was considerably impaired by the heat of the climate. Although personally brave, the statesman predominated in his character; and he was weary of sacrificing his time and interest on a barren coast, where he was eclipsed by the superior military renown of Richard. The dispute between Guy of Lusignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was indeed terminated: Guy retained for his life the crown of Jerusalem, with Jaffa and Cæsarea; the two latter, with the title of count, he transmitted to his posterity; but the kingdom after his decease was transferred to Conrad, and was to be perpetuated in his issue. One cause of discord between the rival monarchs was thus happily removed; but the holy service was still disturbed by their national jealousy; and the two factions which they protected in Palestine, raged with unabated violence. But the surrender of Acre was the signal of Philip's departure, and he determined to hoist his sails for his native coast. To the marquis of Montferrat he assigned that part of Acre, which had acknowledged his authority: To justify his unpopular desertion, he left the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights and ten thousand foot, for the continuance of the holy warfare; and to the king of England he engaged his solemn oath, not to attack his dominions or his vassals during his absence. His voyage was prosperous; but the fidelity of the historian is compelled to reveal with a blush, the perfidy of his conduct. Landing in Naples, he directed his steps to Rome, and unveiled the secret motives of his visit, by earnestly, yet ineffectually, soliciting the Roman pontiff, Celestin the Third, to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to Richard.

Each transaction declared the eternal enmity with which he pursued, the secret terror with which he beheld

beheld his royal rival. The marquis of Montferrat, in the hour of confidence, and in the midst of Tyre, had perished by the dagger of assassins, the subjects of the Sheick or Old Man of the Mountain; the public voice loudly accused Richard as the author of the murder; and the proof of his innocence, a pretended letter from the Sheick, is rejected as an absurd and palpable forgery. Philip, above the rest, insinuated the guilt of the king, and dreaded, or affected to dread, a similar fate. By splendid presents he endeavoured to propitiate the Old Man of the Mountain; and by the advice of his council, a faithful and select guard, with iron maces, attended his person night and day, and suffered no stranger to approach him. Artful and intriguing, he closely connected himself with John, the brother of Richard; and the death of Isabella, during his absence, dissolving his nuptial ties, he offered his hand to Ingeberge, the daughter of Waldemar, and the sister of Canute, king of Denmark; and only asked in dowry, the obsolete claim of the Danes upon England, and the assistance of their fleet: Even these were refused; and Philip consented to receive with a trifling portion, a princess, whose birth at first excited the murmurs, but whose manners afterwards conciliated and retained the affections of his subjects.

Full of glory, if glory is to be attained by a ferocious and brutal valour, Richard retired from a hopeless war in Palestine, where he had beheld, without being permitted to rescue, the holy city of Jerusalem from the dominion of the Moslems. His laurels were blasted by the prudence or envy of his companions; and even his personal freedom was violated by the base revenge of a prince who had served under his banner, and who was irritated by a real or imaginary insult at the siege of Acre. This prince was Leopold, duke of Austria,

Austria, through whose territories the king of England, ship-wrecked on the coast of Dalmatia, endeavoured to pass in disguise. By Leopold he was sold to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, a monarch whose avarice could only be equalled by his indigence. Philip, with transport received the tidings of his rival's captivity, and sensible how much he was interested in the continuance, in vain endeavoured, by profuse offers, to obtain possession of his person. He renewed his alliance with John of England, and declared war against Richard, contrary to the remonstrances and inclinations of his nobles, who displayed an honourable reluctance to oppress a prince, the companion of their toils in Palestine. But the avidity of Philip was not to be restrained by the sanctity of oaths or the laws of honour; he occupied Gisors, reduced the counties of Eu and Aumale, and advancing to Rouen, wasted his forces in the fruitless siege of that city. The menaces of the pope, and the indifferent success of John in England, concurred in disposing Philip to accept of the advantageous terms which were offered him; and he consented to a peace, on condition that he should receive, after the release of the king of England, twenty thousand marks, at certain stipulated periods, and he immediately put in possession of some castles, which he named, as security for the payment of that sum.

A. D.
1193, 1194. By the mediation of the princes of the empire, the ransom of the king of England was fixed at one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver; and the zeal and compassion of his subjects freely contributed their wealth to deliver a sovereign, who had ruled them with a rod of iron, from the injurious bondage in which he was retained. The intrigues of the king of France to delay the moment of freedom were frustrated

frustrated by the integrity of the nobles of Germany; and his sensations, when he found himself exposed to the open resentment of a warlike prince, whom he had so basely and mortally injured, may be judged from his expressions in a letter to John, "Take care of yourself, for the devil is unchained."

The emperor and the princes of Germany had already threatened France with an invasion, unless her monarch consented to restore the places of which he had deprived his rival; and Philip considering this menace as a declaration of war, and desirous by his activity to anticipate the hostile designs of his adversary, entered Normandy with a powerful army. He had already invested Verneuil, when he was alarmed with the intelligence that John had reconciled himself to his brother, massacred the French garrison in Evreux, and delivered it into the hands of the king of England; and that Richard himself, with a formidable force, had landed at Barfleur, and, impatient for action and eager for revenge, was rapidly advancing to the relief of Verneuil. With a light body of troops the king of France, by an unexpected march, surprised again the city of Evreux, and the lives of the English garrison were sacrificed to expiate the perfidy of John: But this advantage afforded Philip a vain and transient triumph; the main body of his army, which still remained before Verneuil, astonished at the absence of their king, and dismayed at the approach of Richard, disbanded in confusion; and Philip himself on his return, narrowly escaped the pursuit of his rival.

The language of peace on each side accompanied the preparations for war; A. D. 1194. but the feeble voice of the former was drowned by the sound of the trumpet; and the hostile monarchs approached each other near Fretteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome. Philip was still

desirous of avoiding a decisive battle, and concealed his intentions of retreat by a defiance to the king of England, "That the next morning he might expect his attack." But Richard penetrated into the artifice of his rival; his answer was firm, and his measures prompt; and the king of France had scarce welcomed the return of his messenger, before he heard the shouts and beheld the banners of the English. The French were broken by the sudden and impetuous charge, and Philip fled before the sword of the lion-hearted Richard. His baggage, his military chest, with the most important papers of the state, were the prey of the victor; and the latter, which Richard would never consent to restore, were but imperfectly supplied by the memory of his ministers.

A. D. 1195. Richard himself entered Guienne with his victorious army, and reduced the castles which had revolted. During the course of several months, fruitless negotiations were interrupted by desultory enterprises; Dieppe was surprised and pillaged by Philip; Iffoudun was assaulted and captured by Richard; and the subjects of each might deplore, with reason, the unabated rage which burned in the bosoms of their indignant sovereigns, and delivered France and Normandy to the miseries of war. That rage was at length rather suspended than extinguished by their mutual weakness; they listened to the voice of reason, and the remonstrances of the legate of the pope; and a truce for six months was followed by a treaty of peace, which from the place where it was concluded, has been called the peace of Louviers; The principal article it contained, besides restoring the places taken on each side, was the delivery of Alice to her brother Philip; and the Helen of France and England was permitted, after occasioning the effusion of so much blood, to bestow her hand on the count of Ponthieu.

The

The interest of the two kings had reciprocally inclined them to peace; yet their interests yielded to their unbridled passions, and six months had scarce elapsed before the treaty of Louviers was violated. Richard had razed the fortress of a vassal belonging to Philip; and the king of France, in defence of his dependant, invaded Normandy, and possessed himself of Aumale; but his progress was checked by Richard at the head of a small but veteran body of forces. In the course of this contest, the English monarch displayed a degree of policy hitherto unknown to his character: He attached the count of Toulouse to his party, by giving him in marriage his sister Jane, the widow of William, king of Sicily; he inflamed Baldwin count of Flanders, with the hopes of recovering the county of Artois; and he insinuated to the ministers of Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffrey, and who inherited the county of Brittany, the probability of his being appointed his successor in the throne of England: While Philip, on the other hand, seemed to have changed dispositions with his rival, and acted with the inconsiderate levity of an inexperienced youth.

Arras was besieged by the count of Flanders; and the French king, with a numerous army, advanced to the relief of it. Baldwin, incapable of opposing with any probability of success the superior forces of France, retreated before them; and Philip pursued him with improvident ardour through a country intersected with deep ditches and inclosures. But his numbers served only to augment his confusion and distress; unable either to advance or retire, he himself was assailed by the slow but certain attacks of famine; and at length was extricated from the danger which surrounded him by the moderation of the count, and his own specious promises. Baldwin

improved the opportunity to mediate between the contending monarchs, and a truce of a twelvemonth was granted to his intercession. On the expiration of that term the operations of war were recommenced with increase of vigour; and only suspended at the holy voice of pope Innocent the Third. To his remonstrances, five years of reluctant tranquillity were granted; and before this suspension of hostilities could ripen into a solid peace, Richard himself received a mortal wound as he pressed the siege of Chalus, to extort from his vassal Aymar, viscount of Limoges, a treasure which that nobleman had found.

A. D.

1193, 1200.

The death of Richard relieved Philip from a formidable competitor; but his own imprudence allowed him not to enjoy this short respite from foreign commotion, and he was already embarrassed by cares of a more domestic nature. The night that delivered Ingerberge to his arms had extinguished the flame of his affection; the virtues of the princess were not capable of affecting the dark mind of her husband; and at his command she retired to a monastery with the esteem of a people who revered her modesty, her piety, and her patience. Subservient prelates, obedient to the powerful voice of their sovereign, were readily found to gratify his wishes by a sentence of divorce, under pretence of consanguinity; and the king, three years after his marriage with Ingerberge, had espoused Agnes, the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia. But the resentment of the Dane was aroused by the indignity offered to his sister; he appealed to the sacred and omnipotent tribunal of Rome; and after a variety of sentences, Philip was at length constrained to resign the possession of Agnes, and to re-call Ingerberge from the convent to the throne. The mind of Agnes was too sensible
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of disgrace to survive the opprobrious decision; she sunk beneath the weight of her grief; and the court of Rome, which had exiled her from the bed of her husband, legitimated her son and daughter, the fruits of their connection.

John, on the death of Richard, had occupied the vacant throne of his brother; A. D. 1200. but the crown of England was claimed by Arthur, the grandson of Henry the Second, by his third son Geoffrey, already in possession of Brittany. His inexperienced years were guided by the manly counsels of his mother Constance, a princess haughty and implacable, bold and turbulent. Anjou, Touraine, and Maine acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arthur; and the important town of Angers was delivered by the governor into his hands. In support of his title, Philip entered Normandy, and ravaged with impartial rapacity the country that he claimed for his youthful ally; while John, with a considerable army, invested the capital of Maine; and after reducing it, razed the walls of the city as an instance of terror to the other towns that might be inclined to follow the example of Mans, and to erect the standard of rebellion. But doubtful of the strength of his sword he preferred the arts of negotiation. To Lewis, the eldest son of the king of France, he offered his niece Blanch, the daughter of Alonzo, king of Castile, and promised to entail on that princess, in case he died without issue, all his dominions in France: To Philip he immediately ceded the Vexin, in Normandy; and the French monarch, happy in terms which exceeded his most sanguine expectations, acceded to the proposal, and abandoned the support of Arthur, who was compelled to renew his homage to John for the county of Brittany.

The

A. D. 1200, 1202. The manners of a licentious age had already loosened the sacred bands of matrimony; and a voluptuous prince like John, hesitated not to divorce his present consort from his bed, and to raise to it Isabel D'Angouleme, whose charms had inflamed his passions, and whose hand was engaged to Hugh count of March. But the subjects of John already conspired against a capricious and oppressive reign; the count of March resented the indignity that had been offered him; and Philip once more prepared to support the convenient title of Arthur. That prince, with the treasures of France, raised a considerable army, and invested the queen dowager Eleanor in Mirabeau, a city of Poitou. John, emerging from his natural indolence, hastened to the relief of his mother: Arthur was surprised, and after a gallant resistance, was taken prisoner by his uncle: the castle of Falaïse was allotted at first for his residence; he was thence removed to Rouen; and the suspicious manner of his death, which plainly evinced the royal hand that hastened it, instead of establishing, shook the throne of John to its very foundations.

A. D. 1202, 1204. The policy of Philip induced him to avenge the death of the youth whom he had abandoned when alive; John, as his vassal, was summoned to answer the charge of murder before the court of peers at Paris. On his refusal, all the lands which he held as feifs of the crown of France were declared forfeited. These forms might sanction the proceedings of Philip; but different measures were requisite to dispossess the powerful master of Normandy; and in a field of battle, not in a court of justice, the differences of monarchs are to be decided. The standard of France was again beheld in Normandy; and an indignant people, who scorned the tyrant and the assassin, impatiently

patiently crowded to join it. The gates of Alençon, Conches, Andeli, and Vaudreuil, were opened at his approach; the forts along the banks of the Loire displayed the colours of Philip; and Chateau Gaillard, a castle erected by Richard on the banks of the Seine, and supposed to be impregnable, after a siege of six months, was taken by the king of France.

The inactivity of the king of England astonished his enemies, and extinguished the hopes of his friends: He had indeed assembled a powerful armament for the relief of Chateau Gaillard; but his fleet was delayed by adverse winds, and his soldiers betrayed themselves to ruin by their own rapacity. Satisfied with this effort, he relapsed into his former indifference; while Philip invested Rouen, which capitulated; re-united Normandy to the kingdom of France; and with the exception of Chinon, which held out till the ensuing summer, completed the conquest of Anjou, Maine and Touraine.

Guy of Tours, who by his marriage with Constance, the mother of prince Arthur, had obtained the duchy of Brittany, beheld with a jealous eye the encreasing power of the king of France, which threatened to overwhelm the vassals of the crown. His resentment against the assassin of Arthur was sacrificed to his interest; he renounced the party of Philip, and endeavoured to rouse the insensible John from the lap of indolence. For a moment, the king of England seemed awakened from his trance; he landed at Rochelle with a formidable force, successfully assaulted the town of Angers, and might have once more restored his waning fortune. But the flattering prospect was again blasted by his levity: Impatient of the toils of war, he concluded a truce for two years; and the duke of Brittany, abandoned to the

A. D.

1205, 1206.

the mercy of Philip, was compelled to subscribe the humiliating conditions imposed by that haughty monarch.

A. D. 1206, 1209. The arms of France had been engaged in extending the dominions and augmenting the authority of her sovereign; they were now diverted to gratify the holy ambition of the successors of St. Peter, and to check the progress of heresy. Raymond, count of Toulouse, tolerated in his principality the unbounded freedom of religious opinion; and the court of Rome launched her thunders against a sect who rejected her tenets, and whom, from their inhabiting near Albi, had obtained the name of Albigeois. The banner of the cross, which had been unfurled against the infidels of Asia, was, at the command of Innocent the Third, displayed for the destruction of the dissenters of Europe; the pious commission, though publicly declined, was privately connived at by Philip; and the county of Toulouse was successively abandoned to the sacred sword of Budes, duke of Burgundy, and the devout barbarity of Simon de Montfort.

A. D. 1209, 1214. The same weapon which the Roman pontiff had so advantageously employed against the Albigeois, he was determined to try the temper of against England. John had refused to admit cardinal Langton as legate from the holy see; and the resentment of Innocent excommunicated the king, and delivered his dominions to the first invader. Philip readily declared himself the champion of the papal authority; his son Lewis had privately assumed the cross against the Albigeois; and his father was willing to divert his zeal to an enterprise which promised a more fruitful harvest. But the preparations of Philip were scarce complete before the wrath of the pope was extinguished by the abject submission of John: That prince,

prince, in the prostrate posture of humility, condescended to deliver his crown into, and to receive it again from, the hands of the pope's legate. This act of vassalage was rewarded by the successor of St. Peter with absolution; but the people beheld with indignation the degrading ceremony, and the hatred for their sovereign was lost in contempt.

Although Philip had readily assumed his arms at the voice of the Roman pontiff, he was not inclined to abandon, at the same command, an enterprize which his interest recommended. He might have despised the censures of the court of Rome, but he was embarrassed by the intrigues and preparations of the king of England: That prince, awakened from the trance of indolence by his immediate danger, covered the sea with his fleets, and filled every court with negotiations hostile to France. The counts of Flanders, Bologne, and Toulouse, confederated with Otho, emperor of Germany; and confident of success, already divided in imagination the dominions of Philip. That monarch first turned his arms against the count of Flanders, invested Ghent, and blocked up, with his naval forces, the port of Dantzic; but he was soon compelled to raise the siege with loss; three hundred of his ships were destroyed by the fleets of John; and the king of England having extended his devastations as far as the frontiers of Brittany, retired to Parthenais, in Poitou, to await the operation of his allies in Flanders.

Philip, sensible that it was more honourable, and not more dangerous, boldly to encounter his enemies in the field than tamely to expect their attack, marched to meet the forces of the confederates. The hostile armies approached each other near Tournay; and the village of Bouvines has given its name to a battle memorable for the rank, the valour, and the numbers of the combatants. Under the standard
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of Philip marched fifty thousand men, led by the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Dreux, Nevers, Sancerre, Ponthieu, and St. Paul. The various host which followed Otho was swelled to a larger amount, and was animated by the presence of the dukes of Limburgh, Brabant, and Lorrain, the counts of Namur, Flanders, and Bologne, with the earl of Salisbury. The conflict was fierce, bloody, and for a long time doubtful; the fortune of France and Germany alternately prevailed; Philip himself, wounded in the throat and dragged from his horse, was in danger of being trampled to death; Otho was surrounded and captured by his enemies, and rescued with difficulty. But the valour of the French triumphed over every obstacle; the sun, which shone on their backs dazzled the eyes of their adversaries; pressed on all sides, the confederates endeavoured in vain to retire; a gradual retreat was soon converted into a hasty and tumultuous flight; and the counts of Flanders and Bologne deplored in chains their rashness or their guilt. Yet the victory of Bouvines served more eminently to display the policy of Philip: He was sensible the late formidable conspiracy was formed rather by a jealousy of his own power than regard for John; he was willing to disarm the suspicions of his subjects; and weary of commanding an army where the troops of the crown bore but a small proportion to those of his vassals, he consented to a truce for five years, and determined assiduously to employ that interval in amassing treasures that might enable him to support an independent and regular body of forces.

A. D. 1215, 1217. On the defeat of his allies, John had repassed the seas to England; and the tranquillity which he might have derived from the late truce was overwhelmed by a torrent of civil commotions. The English barons had erected the standard of opposition; and their rights

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were vindicated from the oppression of the tyrant by the celebrated charter, the bulwark of English liberty, which since has been known by the name of **MAGNA CHARTA**. It was scarcely subscribed before it was violated by the faithless monarch; the pope, to whom his submissive conduct had endeared him, absolved him of his oath; and the barons deceived, surprised, and incapable alone of encountering the royal forces, invited to their assistance, and stimulated by the offer of the crown of England, Lewis, the eldest son of the king of France. That prince endeavoured to conceal the claim of conquest under the shadow of a title from his consort Blanch, the grand-daughter of Henry the Second; and his preparations were powerfully but privately forwarded by his father Philip, who still affected inviolably to maintain the truce he had concluded. While he furnished the young prince with a formidable armament, he prohibited him from interfering in the dissensions of England; and Lewis, defying the vain thunders of the vatican, sailed from Calais, landed at Sandwich, and was received with open arms by the discontented nobles. His success was rapid, brilliant, and transient; Rochester submitted, London hailed him as her deliverer and her sovereign, and for a moment his reign and authority seemed permanently established: But his gleam of prosperity was soon over-clouded; he was compelled successively to relinquish the sieges of Windsor and Dover Castles with disgrace. The sudden death of John re-united the barons in their allegiance to his infant son Henry; and Lewis reluctantly evacuated a capital which he had occupied too hastily. His distress induced him to consent to a truce; at the expiration of it he renewed his fruitless efforts; but the fleet he had assembled was intercepted by the English. His forces were defeated in a battle near Lincoln; and the prudent measures which were pursued

fued by the earl of Pembroke, the regent of England, were attended by a peace, the atticles of which stipulated the restoration to Henry of the English castles still occupied by Lewis, and his influence to procure the restitution of Normandy, from his father Philip ; or in case of his failing in that endeavour, his solemn promise to deliver it to the English monarch whenever he should succeed to the throne of France.

A. D. 1219, 1222. The sentence of excommunication which had been denounced by the pope against prince Lewis on his invading England, was repealed by his legate ; and Philip, after some desultory attempts against that kingdom, consented to another truce for four years. The troubles in Toulouse were again revived by the fury of persecution ; the patience of the people was exhausted by the inhumanity of Simon de Montfort, and their despair at length proved fatal to Simon himself. At the earnest intreaty of the Roman pontiff, Honorius the Third, Lewis was permitted by his father to unfurl the banner of the cross, and to march against the Albigeois. His efforts were baffled, and his progress checked, by a race of enthusiasts destitute of hope and incapable of fear ; and he was recalled from an unprofitable field, which afforded not a single leaf of laurel, by the prudence of a parent anxious for the tottering reputation of his son.

A. D. 1223. That parent, at length, approached the end of his long and splendid career. Amauri de Montfort, inflamed with religious zeal and hereditary enmity against the sectaries of the church, who were stained with the blood of his father, and to engage Lewis with more ardour in the holy warfare, proposed to resign to the crown of France his rights to the duchy of Narbonne, the county of Toulouse, and all those lands which pope Innocent the Third had so liberally bestowed upon Simon de Montfort.

Montfort in the council of Lateran : This important offer was referred to an assembly of the nobles and clergy, at Paris ; and as Philip, with the intention of being present himself, pursued his journey from his new acquisitions in Normandy to his capital, he was arrested by death at the town of Mante, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and in the fifty-ninth of his age. As a general, his reputation at least equalled that of his cotemporaries ; and the ingenuity with which he invented a variety of warlike engines, for the destruction of the human race, may be either applauded or regretted. But the character of the hero was surpassed by that of the statesman ; his policy extended the narrow limits of kingly power ; and his successors on the throne of France are indebted to Philip for the grandeur they have attained.

CHAPTER IX.

Reign and Death of Lewis the Eighth ;—Is succeeded by his Son, Lewis the Ninth.—Regency of Queen Blanch.—Lewis assumes the Cross, and embarks for Egypt.—Reduces Damietta ;—Is defeated, and taken Prisoner by the Infidels ;—Ransomed, and returns to France.—Conquest of Sicily by the Count of Anjou.—Lewis engages a second Time in a Holy War ;—Lands, and expires on the Coast of Africa.

LEWIS the Eighth was scarcely seated on the throne of France, before Henry A. D.
1223. 1224. the Third, of England, demanded by a solemn embassy the restoration of the dominions which his father possessed in France, and which Lewis had bound himself by oath to surrender. But the hour of danger was passed ; and the French monarch

monarch was not destitute of plausible pretences to to conceal his want of faith. In the language of recrimination, he urged that the English barons had not been confirmed in those privileges which the treaty stipulated, and that a heavy ransom had been unjustly extorted from the French prisoners. Sensible that the dispute must be decided by arms, he extended his negotiations with foreign powers; and fortified by the alliances of Frederick, emperor of Germany, and Hugh, count of March, who had married the queen dowager of England, he immediately invaded Poitou. Niort and Rochelle were gradually and successively reduced; and Bourdeaux, with the country beyond the river Garonne, were all that remained of the extensive territories formerly possessed by England. To preserve these, Henry conferred on his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, the title of count of Poitou, and furnished him with a formidable squadron, and a considerable body of forces, to support his new dignity. The inhabitants of Poitou, flattered by the presence of a prince of the blood royal, crowded to his standard: The spirit of opposition was revived; the career of Lewis was checked; and that monarch, impatient to engage in a new enterprise, consented to a truce for three years.

A. D. 1224, 1226. The court of Rome strongly solicited the king of France to resume the cross, and again to march against the Albigois. The memory of his former inglorious campaign might deter him for a moment, but the vehemence of the pope triumphed over all opposition: On this occasion Lewis thought fit to accept the offer of Amauri de Montfort; and in return for the cession of the claims which he derived from the liberality of the Roman pontiff, Montfort received the promise of the post of Constable, as soon as it should become vacant. The thunders of the Vatican had already

already been launched against the count of Toulouse and his adherents, and the king of France prepared to support these spiritual censures with a powerful army : From Lyons he directed his march along the banks of the Rhone, and invested Avignon with fifty thousand men. The inhabitants, animated by despair, defended themselves with obstinate valour ; and the king, after the loss of the bravest of his troops, was forced to grant that capitulation at last, which he had refused at first. With a harrassed and dispirited army, he turned from the hostile walls of Toulouse ; and in his retreat was seized at Montpensier with a mortal distemper, which terminated a reign of three, and a life of thirty-nine years.

Lewis the ninth, who attained the pious surname of Saint, was scarce eight years A. D. 1226. old when his father expired ; and his tender age was entrusted to the care of his mother, Blanch, the daughter of Alonzo, king of Castile : That princess assumed the reins of government, and held them with more than female firmness. Instead of vainly lamenting over the tomb of her late consort, she employed the immediate moments to secure the crown and regal authority of her son. The youthful king was crowned at Rheims by the bishop of Soissons ; and sensible of the intrigues of the nobles, who had long regretted the diminution of their former independence, and who beheld with pleasure the favourable opportunity which now presented itself, she prepared to encounter their arts with equal arms.

The most powerful of the confederates, whose secret counsels and open preparations threatened the tranquillity of the kingdom, and shook the very foundations of the throne, were, Philip, surnamed *Hurspel*, rude, the son of Philip-Augustus, by Agnes the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia, and who, from the affection of his father, derived the title of
count

count of Clermont, and from his marriage that of count of Bologne: Joanna, countess of Flanders, who from the imprisonment of her husband Ferdinand after the battle of Bouvines, governed that province with independent authority, and pursued with implacable hatred the queen-dowager: Peter de Dreux, the grandson of Robert, the fourth son of Lewis the Gross, and who, as the husband of Constance, ruled with the title of count the fertile country of Brittany: Thibaud count of Champagne, who presumed to profess himself the personal admirer of Blanch, and whose vanity and jealousy armed him against her administration: Raymond, count of Toulouse, whose dominions had lately been devoted to religious persecution, and who sought for peace amidst the calamities of war; and Berenger, count of Provence, whose honourable revolt was actuated by the sincere and steady friendship which he had ever professed and maintained to the count of Toulouse. The private motives of the confederates were veiled by the pretence of public good; and their demands were recommended by their apparent moderation. They required, before they yielded their homage to the king, that the queen should secure to them the inviolable maintenance of those laws to which, by birth, she was a stranger; that she should restore the estates which had been confiscated during the former reign; and that she should release the prisoners of state, particularly Ferdinand, count of Flanders.

A. D. 1227, 1229. Blanch, determined to preserve the dignity of the crown entrusted to her care pure and immaculate, rejected their demands; and while she diligently collected a small but well-disciplined body of forces, she condescended to employ every species of art, and to exert the influence of her charms. The count of Champagne was rather allured to her side, than awed by her power: the countess of Flanders was embarrassed by the

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the release of her husband, which decency compelled her to require, but interest prompted her to dread; while Ferdinand displayed, with persevering fidelity, his gratitude to his royal deliverer. By a prudent distribution of favours, the minds of the conspirators were soothed and conciliated; the ceremony of homage was gradually acquiesced in; and the tempest which had threatened to subvert the infant authority of Lewis, was for a moment hushed and appeased.

But this calm proved deceitful; and while Blanch flattered herself with the prospect of returning tranquillity, the storm burst forth with redoubled violence. Philip, count of Bologne, who had secretly nursed the hopes of the conspirators, now openly erected the standard of rebellion, and even aspired to mount the throne of France. Disappointed in his attempt to seize the person of the king, he endeavoured to delude the queen with a small and inadequate force into the hostile country of Brittany; but the snare was discovered to Blanch by the affection of the count of Champagne; and when the confederates hoped to secure their important prize, their measures were again disconcerted by the appearance of that nobleman, at the head of a superior army. The queen seized the moment of success to negotiate with the count of Bologne; she convinced him that his real interest was to maintain the authority of the king, his nephew; she unfolded the secret designs of the confederates; and plainly proved, that while they flattered his ambition with the prospect of royalty, their inclinations were unanimously directed towards Enguerand de Coucy, a nobleman conspicuous above his contemporaries for his virtues and abilities. Philip consented to exchange his visionary hopes of a crown for the solid emoluments of a pension. The intrigues

of Blanch extended even to the court of London ; and the ministers of Henry were by splendid presents and artful gratifications, induced to subscribe a truce for three years, while the count of Brittany was humbled by the arms of the queen, and reluctantly submitted to the humiliating language of feigned penitence.

A. D. 1233, 1242. In the lapse of these various commotions, the king himself had attained the age of nineteen years ; and at the command of his mother, he bestowed his hand on Margaret, the daughter of the count of Provence : Yet Blanch still maintained her former ascendancy ; and the count of Brittany, who had presumed once more to provoke her resentment, was reduced prostrate on the ground, and with a rope about his neck, to implore the pardon of Lewis. The vanity of Thibaud, count of Champagne, had engaged him in fresh intrigues ; his resistance was inglorious, his submission abject ; and the nobles, baffled in their successive enterprises, assumed the cross, and in the wars of Palestine found employment for their turbulent and restless valour. On their return they resumed their factious cabals ; and the counts of March and Brittany renewed their negotiations with Henry of England, a prince, weak, fickle, and indigent. His feeble aid served only to augment the glory of Lewis, who in two separate engagements triumphed over his revolted subjects. The count of Toulouse was the last who defied his arms ; even his spirit was at length subdued, and he was happy to obtain from the clemency of the king, terms which permitted him the peaceable enjoyment of his dominions, but at the same time precluded him from future opposition ; while Lewis beheld himself peaceably established on the throne, and invested with the
same

same royal prerogative as his father Philip had possessed in the plenitude of his power.

Two regulations proclaim the prudence and policy of Lewis. The first, under A. D. 1242, 1246. pretence of preventing strangers from inheriting lands in France to the prejudice of the natives, precluded the nobles from marrying their daughters to foreigners, and restrained them from increasing their influence by connections and alliances with the neighbouring powers. The second compelled the vassals of the crowns of France and England, to determine to which sovereign they would yield homage: and finally abolished the dangerous custom of adhering to either, as their caprice or interest suggested. Yet even in this edict, the humanity of Lewis was conspicuous, and his justice indemnified those who adhered to him for the lands that they forfeited, by seceding from the king of England.

A dangerous indisposition, which menaced the life of Lewis, was productive A. D. 1247. of a fatal vow to march in person against the infidels, whose successive victories had overwhelmed the Christians of the east: Yet the blind zeal which induced him to descend from his throne to seek the adventures of a spiritual knight-errant, did not prevent him from concerting his measures with the utmost prudence and foresight. To secure the tranquillity of his kingdom during his absence, he engaged the turbulent counts of March and Brittany to share with him the merits of the holy warfare. In conformity with the general practice, he published that he was ready to redress every injury he had offered; and the king of England demanded by his brother, the earl of Cornwall, the duchy of Normandy, and the rest of those territories in France,

of which he had been unjustly despoiled. To the bishops of that duchy the application was referred; and the general character of Lewis allows us to suppose his refusal the result of their decision: Yet Henry consented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms; and the French monarch, after entrusting to his mother Blanch the reins of government, prepared for his departure.

A. D. 1248. To furnish an armament equal to the arduous enterprise, France was exhausted of troops and treasures: The sea was whitened with eighteen hundred sails; and nine thousand five hundred horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, have been computed as the number of martial pilgrims. Margaret shared the dangers of her royal consort; and his two brothers, Robert, count of Artois, and Charles count of Anjou, and afterwards king of Naples, were the companions of his toils. The fleet with favourable winds reached the coast of Cyprus; the troops were disembarked on the friendly shore; and during the severity of winter, their strength was recruited and their health restored by the plenty of that island.

A. D. 1249. On the approach of spring, it was determined to commence the operations of war; and it was hoped that Palestine might be subdued in Egypt, a country from which the Moslems derived the most effectual support. After a prosperous voyage, the fleet cast anchor in the mouth of the Nile; and Lewis, in complete armour, the Oriflame waving before him, leapt foremost on the beach. The strong city of Damietta, which for sixteen months had formerly withstood the assaults of the christians, was abandoned by the trembling infidels on the first attack; but that town was the first and last of his conquests. A ruinous delay introduced

introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease; and the progress of the Franks, whose columns pointed towards Cairo, the Capital of Egypt, was impeded by an unseasonable inundation of the Nile. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger and of discipline; the count of Artois, with about two thousand of the flower of the army, passed the deep and rapid stream; and with inconsiderate valour rushed towards, and stormed the town of Massoura. But the momentary consternation of the inhabitants was dispelled by the intelligence that the main body of the French was still separated by the Nile from the rash assailants. The flying Moslems were rallied by a soldier who deserved, and who afterwards usurped the sceptre; and before the christians could arrive to the support of their van-guard, the count of Artois and his fearless companions had effaced, by a glorious death, the fatal error of impetuous courage. The battle was with difficulty restored, and the Saracens were at length compelled to relinquish the field to the daring warriors of France, animated by the example of their gallant monarch.

But the unprofitable victory served only to augment the distress of the Franks; and they too plainly discerned that the utmost efforts of military skill and valour were of no avail. By these efforts their fate might be procrastinated, but it could not be averted. From the increasing number of the infidels, they were compelled to shelter themselves in a strong camp; while the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian gallies, and the open country by the Arabs. All provisions were intercepted; each day displayed the rapid progress of disease and famine; and a shower of Greek fire was incessantly poured on
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their heads by the surrounding Saracens. The moment the invaders determined to retreat, they discovered that it was impracticable. The Oriental writers confess that Lewis might have escaped by sea, if he would have deserted his subjects; and policy would have justified the prudent, though inglorious flight. But his magnanimous mind preferred the thorny path of honour; with his brother, the count of Anjou, the greatest part of his nobles, and the shattered remnant of his army, the king of France became the captive of the victorious followers of Mahomet.

A triumph so splendid, a victory so important, was sullied by the cruelty of the conquerors; the captive monarch was himself loaded with chains; his subjects, who were unable to ransom their lives, were inhumanly massacred, and their heads were exposed to the derision of the inhabitants on the walls of Cairo. But the strength of Damietta was the security of Lewis; to the fortifications of that city he had entrusted his royal consort and his treasures. The Saracens beheld with hopeless eyes the solid towers which mocked their feeble assaults; and the deliverance of Lewis, and that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta and the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of silver.

A. D. 1250. After fulfilling the conditions with scrupulous integrity, Lewis, with his queen Margaret and about six thousand soldiers, the war-worn relics of his former host, embarked on board the gallies of Genoa, for the port of Acre, in Palestine. It might have been reasonably concluded, that after his late misfortune he would have relinquished the vain hope of eastern laurels, and returned to the government of his own kingdom: But he was unwilling to revisit his dominions without glory; and

and he confided in the vigilance and ability of his mother Blanch. The fortitude of that princess was overwhelmed by the disastrous campaign in Egypt, and the captivity of her son; a weak administration and mournful existence were prolonged for about two years, till she sunk into the grave, beneath the incessant pressure of unavailing sorrow.

The death of Blanch, and the remonstrances of his subjects, recalled Lewis A. D. 1254. from Acre; within the walls of which city, unable to visit Jerusalem, he had ingloriously wasted four years. Though received with the acclamations of his people, his dress was plain, and his features melancholy; the former was still impressed with the sign of the cross; the latter displayed the evident marks of his defeat: Yet the magnificence of the monarch was beheld with admiration in his reception of Henry the Third of England, who embraced the opportunity of an expedition into Gascony to visit Paris. The splendour of his entertainment was enhanced by the courteous manners of Lewis; and the interview between the two kings was followed by a renewal of the former truce for two years longer; while the connections of the king of France were extended by the marriage of his daughter Isabella with Thibaud the Second, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie.

The same justice with which Lewis A. D. 1255, 1265. governed his own dominions shone with distinguished lustre in every transaction with his neighbours. He conciliated the differences between the dowager countess of Provence, mother of his consort, and his own brother the count of Anjou. His decision, which deprived the latter of certain castles, the object of their dispute, was rendered palatable to Charles by a liberal pecuniary compensation from his own treasury. To Henry the

the Third, as an equivalent for his vain pretensions to Normandy, he ceded the Limousin, Querci, and Perigord; and the terms which he granted to the English, when their government was distracted by the weakness of their king and the ambition of his minister, the daring and enterprising earl of Leicester, might, even in a more prosperous state of their affairs, have been deemed reasonable and advantageous. Between that minister and his sovereign, the king of France was chosen to mediate; and a reference so honourable to his integrity, was justified by his moderate and lenient counsels. To this arbitration succeeded the concerns of his own family; and on the death of his eldest son, Lewis negotiated the marriage of Philip, the next, with Isabella, the princess of Arragon, who had been previously engaged to the deceased prince.

A. D. 1266. But the same equity which characterized Lewis, resided not in the bosom of his brother Charles; eminent for ferocious manners and brutal courage, the court of Rome, with transport, acknowledged him the chosen champion of her eternal enmity to the imperial house of Swabia. The crown of the two Sicilies had been usurped by Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic the Second, to the prejudice of Conradin, the nephew of that emperor. Pope Clement the Fourth, equally inimical to both, as the successor of St. Peter, bestowed the important prize on the count of Anjou. The banner of the cross was unfurled against the domestic enemy of the Vatican; and Charles, at the head of the chivalry of France, on the bloody plains of Beneventum, despoiled Mainfroy of his crown and life. The death of the usurper awakened from obscurity the pretensions of Conradin; but the hapless youth sunk in the unequal conflict, a prisoner to the unfeeling conqueror: His rights were extinguished on
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a public scaffold; the forms of justice were prostituted, to veil the cruelty of the victor, and to aggravate the anguish of the vanquished; and the establishment of Charles on the throne of the two Sicilies, gave rise to what the French have styled the first race of Anjou.

Sixteen years of peace had obliterated from the mind of Lewis the misfortunes A. D.
1266, 1269. of his former crusade; the latent flame of enthusiasm, which had been damped by his defeat in Egypt, was not extinguished, and the breath of opportunity was only wanting to fan and to revive the dormant embers. The wisdom of his regulations had restored the tranquillity of his dominions; his coffers were recruited, his finances augmented, and his hopes expanded. His silent preparations had been incessantly directed towards the single object of his devout ambition; the loss of Antioch provoked the more immediate execution of his designs: His example was followed by his three sons, Philip, John, and Peter, by his nephew the count of Artois, and by the most gallant spirits of the court of France. The reins of government during his absence were entrusted to the vigilance of Matthew, abbot of St. Denys, who derived his noble lineage from the counts of Vendome; and to Simon de Clermont, count of Nessel, justly esteemed for the united qualities of head and heart.

Aigues-mortes, a small sea-port of Languedoc, near the mouth of the Rhone, was a second time rendered remarkable by the embarkation of Lewis; and the fleet of France, instead of directing its course towards Palestine or Egypt, steered for the coast of Africa. An obscure king of Tunis, (whose doubtful name of Muley-Mortanga or Omar attests his insignificance) had professed his inclination to abjure the tenets of Mahomet for those of Christ: and the
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vain report of an immense treasure reconciled the more interested pilgrims to the wild and visionary enterprise. But caprice or policy had already united the fickle or crafty barbarian to the precepts of the Koran; and instead of a zealous profelyte, Lewis encountered an active and formidable enemy. The walls of Carthage were indeed stormed by the impetuous valour of the French; but their strength was exhausted before the gates of Tunis; and the warriors of the west panted beneath the sultry heats, and expired on the burning sands of Africa. The king himself was at length infected by the pestilential blast, and he breathed his last on the inhospitable shore, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth year of his age. In his singular character were united the virtues of the saint and the hero; and his piety and equity in peace were not more conspicuous than his fortitude and valour in war. The father of his people, his heart ever sympathized with their miseries, and his hand was ever stretched out to relieve their distress. His prudent policy preserved them from the calamities of foreign invasion; but his excellent understanding was clouded by the fumes of enthusiasm; and the slaughter of his subjects, his own captivity, and at length his death, were the fatal consequences of a blind superstition.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

Reign of Philip the Third, Surnamed the HARDY.

—Revolt of Sicily from Charles of Anjou.— Death of Philip the Third, and Succession of Philip the Fourth surnamed the Fair.—War with Edward the First of England.—Difference with Pope Boniface the Eighth.—Invasion of Flanders.—Death of Philip the Fourth.

THE death of Lewis did not prevent his son and successor Philip, who attained the A. D. 1270. surname of Hardy, from continuing the war against the infidels with vigour and success. His shattered forces were strengthened by the arrival of his uncle Charles, the king of Sicily, with a considerable fleet and army: The Saracens were defeated in two engagements; the king of Tunis was reduced to sue for peace; and his offers of doubling the tribute he formerly paid to the crown of Sicily, of re-imbursing the expences of the war, and of permitting the Christian religion to be freely propagated throughout his dominions, were accepted by the kings of France and Sicily, who embarked their troops, and hoisted sail from the infectious coast.

But the seeds of disease still lurked in A. D. 1271. the bodies of the martial pilgrims, and on their arrival in Sicily, burst forth with baneful influence. Philip, to alleviate the anxiety of his mind, from the court of Sicily visited that of Rome; and pursuing his journey through the principal cities of Italy, reposed a short time at Lyons, and entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his people. Yet France had reason to lament the destructive consequences

sequences of the enterprises from which he returned ; besides the multitude that perished without a name, and perhaps without a sigh, on the coast of Africa, in the island of Sicily, and in his progress through Italy, Philip beheld his father Lewis, his brother John, his queen Isabella, and his brother-in-law and sister, the king and queen of Navarre, his uncle and aunt, the count and countess of Poitiers, the noble victims of the same contagious disorder.

The first moments of his return were dedicated to the pious care of his father's funeral, the next to the important ceremony of his own coronation. With active vigilance he inspected every part of his dominions ; he took possession in person, of the counties of Provence and Toulouse ; and steadily enforced within the royal domains the regulation of St. Lewis, which prevented the barons from deciding their differences by private war. On the death of Henry, king of Navarre, he demanded for his second son Lewis, the only daughter of that prince ; and although the treaty of marriage was opposed by the kings of Castile and Arragon, as extending by so valuable an acquisition, the power of France ; and Philip himself, for fear of too much alarming the jealousy of his neighbours, had relinquished his first design of procuring the princess for his eldest son ; yet supported by the influence of the pope, whose friendship he purchased by the cession of the Venaissin, he triumphed over every obstacle, and the nuptials of his son were followed by his own ; he bestowed his hand on Mary, the daughter of the duke of Brabant, esteemed one of the most beautiful princesses of the age.

A. D. 1274. Although Philip was desirous of cultivating peace, he was not intimidated by the sound of war. To maintain the former he yielded the country of Agenois to Edward the First, king
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of England ; and he engaged in the latter to support the pretensions of his nephews, the infants de le Cerda, to the throne of Castile. Alphonso, who ruled that kingdom, had transferred the succession from the offspring of his eldest son, the deceased husband of Blanch, the sister of Philip, to his second and surviving son Sancho. Philip himself had endeavoured to establish a right to the crown of Castile ; but his own claim was lost in the injustice offered to his sister's son ; and the party of the youthful prince was seconded by the arms of France. From the prosecution of a war, languid and uninteresting, the attention of Philip was recalled to his own domestic calamities, and the more immediate danger of the House of Anjou.

At the age of twelve years, Lewis, the eldest son of the king, suddenly expired ; A. D. 1275. and the suspicion of poison was attached to the uncommon manner of his death. Peter la Brosse, a minion of fortune, who from the post of surgeon to the king had attained that of minister, and governed with absolute power the mind of his master, was jealous of the encreasing influence of a young and beautiful queen. He artfully insinuated the enmity of Mary to her son-in-law ; and the monarch, for a moment, regarded with a doubtful eye the innocence of his consort. The superstition of the age induced Philip to consult a nun, who professed or believed herself inspired ; the answer was fatal to La Brosse. His enemies seized the favourable opportunity to accuse him of a treasonable correspondence with the king of Castile, and he was condemned to atone for his crimes by a violent death. But the secret manner of his trial, the insulting presence of the queen's brother, the duke of Brabant, at his execution, turned the tide of popular favour ; and the king could not seclude himself from the loud
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and general clamour, which arraigned the sentence of La Brosse, and impeached the innocence of Mary.

Charles of Anjou had established his authority over Naples and Sicily; and his throne could only be shaken by his own ambition and cruelty: The former awakened the fears of Michael Palæologus, the emperor of the Greeks; the latter excited the indignation and revolt of his Italian subjects. Naples, indeed, was awed by the presence of a sovereign whom she feared and hated; but Sicily was roused to freedom by the eloquence of John, of Procida, an exile of noble birth, daring courage, and consummate art. The councils of the conspirators were nursed by the gold of Palæologus; and the same moment informed Charles, that in a promiscuous massacre, which obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS, eight thousand of the French had perished, and that Peter, king of Arragon, had sailed to Palermo, and was saluted as the king and saviour of the island. Charles was astonished and confounded at the rebellion of a people, whom he had long trampled on with impunity; and in the agony of grief was heard to exclaim, "O God! if thou hast decreed
A. D. 1280, 1284.
 "to humble me, grant me at least a gentle and gradual descent from the pinnacle of greatness." But whatever might be his confidence in the aid of heaven, his earthly measures were taken with vigour and promptitude: A powerful armament was assembled at Marseilles; the siege of Messina was pressed with incessant ardour; the inhabitants in vain deplored their rashness, and offered, on an assurance of pardon, to open their gates to their offended sovereign. With the return of prosperity, Charles had resumed his former inflexibility; but while he sailed to Marseilles, to hasten with the succours of
 France

France the destruction of his enemies, his hopes of vengeance were blasted by one fatal and irreparable action. His son Charles, surnamed the *Lame*, was left in Sicily with orders patiently to await the arrival of his father; But the youth, provoked by the insults of the fleet of Arragon, hazarded an engagement, which delivered him a prisoner into the hands of his foes. Charles in vain endeavoured to disguise, by an appearance of fortitude, the effects of this mortal blow; his feelings as a king and a father were too deeply wounded; from despair and sorrow, he sunk into the grave; and the island of Sicily, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the House of Arragon.

Pope Martin the Fourth, zealous in the cause of Charles, the former champion of the court of Rome, and asserting the un-

A. D.
1283, 1285.

bounded right of the successors of St. Peter, had excommunicated Pedro, king of Arragon, and bestowed his sceptre, with the approbation of Philip, on Charles of Valois, a younger son of the king of France. That monarch, to maintain the authority of his uncle, and to establish the pretensions of his son, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid siege to Gironne. In endeavouring to intercept a convoy of the besiegers, Pedro himself was mortally wounded; and Gironne, hopeless of succour and dismayed by the fate of her sovereign, surrendered. Yet the prosperity of Philip was soon over-cast; his fleet was again defeated by that of Arragon, and the same element overwhelmed the hopes of the uncle and the nephew. Shame and disappointment preyed upon the mind of Philip; the progress of disease was forwarded by the cares of royalty; the splendid and specious projects which had so fatally deluded him,

him, vanished from his sight, and he beheld in the visionary enterprise, his treasures wasted, his subjects slaughtered, and his dominions exhausted. The fatigues of war, the sultry heat of the climate, were not so injurious as his own reflections : Harassed by the pursuit of his enemies, and unable to bear the motion of a horse, he arrived in a litter at Perpignan, where he expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and the sixteenth year of his reign, regretted by an army which he had unsuccessfully commanded, and lamented by a people whom he had reluctantly impoverished.

Philip the Fourth, whose personal attractions acquired him the name of *Fair*, when
 A. D. he ascended the throne of his father
 1285, 1291. was about seventeen years of age ; and

found himself with an empty treasury and shattered army, engaged in a war with his neighbours of Castile and Arragon. He was crowned at Rheims, with his consort Joanna, who in her own right was also queen of Navarre, and who with her hand had bestowed on her husband the important counties of Champagne and Brie : Yet this increase of influence and territory was scarce sufficient to extricate him from the continual embarrassments of his reign. By abandoning the interests of the infants de le Cerda, he adjusted the dispute with Castile ; and the terms of peace between the crowns of Arragon and France were settled by the mediation of Edward the First of England. At the intercession of the English monarch, Charles the Lamé was released from his captivity ; part of his ransom was paid by the generosity of Edward himself ; and Charles consented to renounce his claim to Sicily, and to prevail on his namesake of Valois to withdraw his pretensions to Arragon ; pretensions which were only founded on the frantic liberality of an enraged pope, and which
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the brother of the king of France readily exchanged for the eldest daughter of Charles the lame, and the princely dowry of the extensive counties of Anjou and Maine.

The general tranquillity which these treaties had promoted, was soon interrupted by a succession of wars and political differences with Edward the First, king of England; with pope Boniface the Eighth; and with Guy de Dampier, count of Flanders. And that the reader may more clearly comprehend the origin and event of each transaction, it will be necessary to review them distinct and separate.

Philip, in consequence of a treaty between Lewis the Ninth and Henry the Third, had ceded to Edward the county of Saint-

A. D.

1293, 1303.

tonge; the friendly inclinations of the English monarch had been displayed in his mediation between Arragon and France; and on a visit to Paris, he had yielded homage to Philip for the dominions he held under that crown. This promise of permanent amity was blasted by an incident, trifling in itself but considerable in its consequences; and which serves to display the general appetite for revenge which actuated in that age every description of men, and urged them, on any provocation, to seek redress by immediate retaliation on the aggressors. A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast of Bayonne, and both having occasion to water, the crews they detached met at the same spring. A quarrel ensued for the preference; and a Norman drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman, but fell, as it was pretended, by his own weapon. In the dispute between these seamen, the two nations were soon involved. The Norman mariners carried their complaints to the throne of Philip; and the French monarch, without descending to enquiry, authorised them to vindicate their own injuries.

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This expression was the signal of mutual violence ; and the sea became a scene of piracy and barbarity between the two nations. The sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed a long time to remain indifferent spectators. With the English, sided the Irish and Dutch seamen ; and with the French, those of Flanders and Genoa. A bloody and obstinate war was kindled at sea, and so numerous were the fleets fitted out to avenge this act of private hostility, that in one engagement fifteen thousand of the French are reported to have perished.

The loss of his people awakened the public attention of Philip ; and the inclination of Edward to avoid extremities, was construed by the former monarch into pusillanimity. The king of England was summoned to attend as the vassal of France ; and on his refusal to obey, his estates in that kingdom were declared forfeited. After a variety of negociations, it was insinuated that Philip conceived his honour interested by the outrages of the inhabitants of Guienne ; that the nominal cession of that province would alone efface the insult ; but he engaged, as soon as it was delivered into his hands, to restore it to the king of England. Edward, embarrassed with the Scotch, and anxious for peace, fell into the snare ; and the king of France no sooner found himself possessed of Guienne, than he threw off the mask, and persevered in the sentence he had procured against his rival. The forms of a court of justice might sanction the proceedings of Philip in the eyes of the undiscerning multitude, but it was only by arms the differences of monarchs could be decided. Edward, enraged at finding himself thus egregiously duped, endeavoured, by extending his alliances, to deprive Philip of the fruits of his perfidy. He concluded a treaty with the Emperor Adolphus, and he allured

allured to his side the counts of Brittany, Holland, Bar, Juliers, Guelders, and Flanders. Yet even this powerful confederacy served rather to distress his finances, than advance his progress in Guienne: Adolphus, while he loudly demanded considerable subsidies, tardily furnished the assistance he had stipulated. Philip had closely connected himself with Scotland, and laid the foundation, by his treaty with John Baliol, of that union which was preserved between the two nations for successive centuries. The town of Dover was destroyed by a predatory descent of the French; and Edward, to avenge the insult, landed in Gascony with an army of fifty thousand English. The forces of the competitors, nearly balanced, inclined both to peace; a suspension of hostilities was agreed on for two years, and the war was finally concluded by the mediation of pope Boniface the Eighth. Guienne was restored to Edward, who espoused Margaret, the sister of Philip; and Isabella, the daughter of that monarch, bestowed her hand on the prince of Wales. Each king, with mutual perfidy, abandoned their allies; and while John, king of Scotland, was exposed to the resentment of Edward, Guy, earl of Flanders, was relinquished to the indignation of Philip.

When the rival monarchs had appointed Boniface the judge of their differences, sensible of the encroaching temper of the Roman pontiff, they inserted in the reference that he was selected as a private man, and not as the successor to the chair of St. Peter. That pontiff had early displayed a degree of pride which alarmed his cotemporaries, and the king of France was first doomed to experience the effects of his spiritual ambition. He presumed to forbid the clergy to grant any subsidies to that prince, without first obtaining leave from the holy see, under pain of excommunication. In return,

A. D.
1298. 1310.

turn, Philip prohibited any ecclesiastics, without his license, from sending money out of the realm; and while the Roman pontiff assailed him with spiritual arms, he openly protected the Colonnas, the implacable enemies of Boniface. The haughty prelate, after descending to the lowest abuse, and stigmatizing Philip in his letter with the opprobrious name of Fool, summoned to a council at Rome, the clergy of France; while Philip retaliated, by seizing the temporalities of those who attended, and recalling his brother Charles of Valois, who acted as, and enjoyed the title of, the pope's general. Sensible, however, of the mistaken zeal of a superstitious age, before the minds of his people could be impressed with the sacred dread of a contest with the holy father, he determined to prevent the danger by the boldness of his own measures. Two of his emissaries, dispatched under the pretence of conciliating these differences by the efficacious application of gold, employed the money in privately levying a sufficient force, and suddenly invested Boniface in Anagnina, the town of his birth and residence. Corrupted by the liberality of the besiegers, the inhabitants opened their gates, and joined in seizing the person of the pope, at the moment the Bull was actually prepared to excommunicate the king, and release his people from their allegiance. Yet the tide of popular favour soon turned, and the fickle citizens who had betrayed Boniface, pitied his distress, rescued him from his guards, and escorted him to Rome, where he soon expired, the victim of shame and disappointed rage.

Benedict the Eleventh succeeded Boniface in the apostolic chair; and desirous of recovering Philip to the duty he owed to his spiritual father, by lenient means, he revoked the excommunication which his predecessor had fulminated against him. Yet this moderation

moderation was but ill calculated to please an haughty and implacable faction, desirous of aggrandizing the power of the church; and the sudden and premature death of Benedict has been imputed to poison. The choice of the Conclave for several months was suspended by the intrigues of the candidates, and the cardinals of Italy and France. The former at length consented to name three, out of whom the latter might select the future pope: Of these, Bertrand, archbishop of Bourdeaux, was one; and Philip offered to procure him the vacant see, provided he would engage to condemn the memory of Boniface, restore the honours and estates of the Colonnas, allow him for five years the tenths of the clergy of France, and agree to comply with a request which at that time it was not prudent for him to divulge. The terms were accepted; and Bertrand assumed the name of Clement the Fifth. In his return from church at Lyons, his horse was led successively by the king of France, his brothers, the counts of Valois and Evreux, and the duke of Brittany: But the procession nearly proved fatal to Clement himself and his princely attendants; a wall gave way beneath the pressure and weight of the spectators; the duke of Brittany was killed; the king and the counts of Valois were considerably bruised, and the pope narrowly escaped, his tiara being beaten off. The new pontiff fixed his residence at Avignon; and although he punctually complied with the rest of the conditions which had been described, he positively refused to condemn, and after an appearance of enquiry, solemnly vindicated the character and conduct of Boniface.

One condition yet remained within the bosom of the monarch; it was revealed by the death of the emperor Albert of Austria; The ambition of Philip aspired to place his brother Charles of Valois on the imperial

imperial throne. Clement, sensible of the danger of being thus surrounded by the connections of Philip, and early apprised of his intentions, eluded without rejecting the request : In the strongest terms he urged the electors to choose an emperor without delay, and pointed to Henry of Luxemburgh as worthy of their voices. Before the king of France could arrive at Avignon, he was informed the election was over ; but he found some consolation in re-uniting the city of Lyons to the crown of France, which hitherto had only acknowledged the independent authority of its archbishop, and which now yielded to the liberal promises and formidable arms of Philip.

A. D. In the treaty with Edward of England,
 1299, 1314. Guy, earl of Flanders was excepted,
 and abandoned to the resentment or rapacity of the king of France. The Flemings, possessed of the advantages of commerce, were rich, fickle, and turbulent ; impatient of the government of their counts, their intrigues invited, their discontents promoted, the arms of France. Charles Valois, at the head of a powerful army, soon reduced Guy de Dampier to throw himself on the mercy of the king ; but the count obtained a promise, that neither his own, nor the freedom of his sons should be violated ; and if in the space of a year he could not compromise his differences with Philip, he should be at liberty to retire, and pursue whatever measures he might deem expedient. To gratify the enmity of his consort to his noble captive, Philip prevailed on to disavow the treaty, and mortally to wound his brother's honour and his own : The count with two of his sons were closely imprisoned ; the king of France entering Flanders in triumph, was received by the acclamations of the inhabitants ; and appointed John de Châillon, a relation of his
 queen,

queen, a man bold and penetrating, but at the same time haughty and oppressive, the governor of his new acquisitions.

The Flemings, intent on trade alone, had neglected the internal defence of their country; their towns were rich and populous, but their fortifications had been suffered gradually to decay: These were repaired by the activity of Chatillon, and citadels were erected to bridle the future levity of the inhabitants. But the poverty of the times allowed not the monarch to maintain regular garrisons; and the private murmurs of the people at Bruges and Ghent broke out into open insurrections. The first sparks were extinguished by the vigilance of the magistrates; but the flame was re-kindled by the presence of Chatillon, who entered Bruges with seventeen hundred horse, and insultingly displayed two hogheads of ropes, the instrument of the executions he impatiently meditated. The people whom he had devoted to destruction took their measures with speed and secrecy; the danger was instant, their determinations were unanimous; in one moment they rose, and fifteen hundred French were exterminated; while Chatillon himself only escaped by swimming, under cover of the night, the town-ditch. Three sons of Guy, who had sheltered themselves in Namur from the lawless ambition of Philip, were recalled by the Flemings; and at the head of sixty thousand insurgents, pressed the siege of Courtray. The count of Artois, on whom Philip had devolved the command of the French, with a numerous army, determined, contrary to the advice of the constable, the count de Nesle, to attack them in their intrenchments: He was the victim of his own rashness, and the constable was involved in the same fate, with above twenty thousand of their troops. Philip, enraged

enraged at this second disaster, to raise a new force debased his coin ; and having exerted every effort, entered Flanders with a host superior to resistance. But Edward, who beheld with concern the danger of his allies, artfully imparted, as a secret, to his queen, a feigned correspondence of the nobles of France with the hostile court of Rome : Margaret communicated the intelligence to her brother Philip ; and the king, distrustful of the fidelity of his army, retired without performing any thing worthy his preparations or reputation.

The gallies of Genoa in the pay of France, in conjunction with those of Hainault, obtained a victory over the fleet of the Flemings ; and the king, in hopes of improving this advantage by the arts of negotiation, released the old count of Flanders, that he might persuade his subjects to submission : But his arguments were ineffectual ; and he honourably returned to expire, at the age of fourscore years, a prisoner in Compeigne. Philip himself, his brothers the counts of Valois and Evreux, with the flower of the French chivalry, re-entered Flanders, and approached the Flemish army at Mons. The Flemings were commanded by three sons of their count ; but in the hour of action, the chief authority was yielded to the military experience of one only, whose name was Philip. Their camp was hastily fortified with their carriages ; and animated by the love of freedom, they sallied forth with impetuous valour : They were repulsed and driven back by the veteran courage of the French with fatal slaughter ; yet far from yielding to despair, they renewed the attempt, favoured by the darkness of the night, and even penetrated to the tent of the king, who escaped their sword with difficulty : But the French were rallied by the example and conduct of their nobles ; the Flemings

mings were again compelled to retire, and to abandon their camp with precipitation. Philip of Flanders threw himself into Lisle, which was immediately invested by the king of France, in hopes of terminating the war by the capture of that place. The garrison had already consented to surrender, unless relieved within a certain time; but when the king least expected, he was surprised by the appearance of John of Namur at the head of sixty thousand men, undisciplined indeed, but daring and desperate. The king, doubtful of the event, consented to release Robert de Bethune, the eldest son of the count of Flanders; to receive his homage for the county; to accept eight hundred thousand livres as an indemnification for the expences of the war, for the payment of which sum he was to retain Lisle, Douay, and Bethune. The treaty was again violated by Philip, towards the conclusion of his reign; but his hopes of annexing the valuable fief of Flanders to the crown of France were baffled by the steadiness of the Flemings and the interposition of the pope; and the acquisition of Courtray was the only fruit of an enterprise which exhausted the resources and alienated the minds of his subjects.

During the progress of the war, the attention of Europe had been excited by a criminal process against the Knights Templars. This honourable Order had extended their possessions throughout every kingdom, and their immense revenues enabled them to support a royal magnificence. In France they were accused of every species of sensual luxury which degrades human nature; and the doubtful evidence of two criminals, who obtained their forfeited lives from the secrets they affected to reveal, was strengthened by the confession of the Templars themselves. Yet these soon retracted their declarations; and asserted, that the stain
which

which they had fixed on their own reputation was extorted by the menace of impending destruction. Without the form of trial, their estates were confiscated, and above fifty suffered death with unshaken constancy. The grand master with three great officers, were, in the presence of the king himself, consumed by a slow fire; and maintained in their last moments the purity of their conduct. Their firmness commanded the belief of the people; and the avarice of Philip rather appears to have been gratified than the justice of the monarch to have been consulted by their hasty condemnation.

From the fate of these unhappy victims, and his vain enterprises against the Flemings, the thoughts of Philip were engrossed by the cares and miseries of domestic life; the shame and disorders of his own family could not be concealed from his knowledge and observation: His eldest son Lewis, who enjoyed the title of king of Navarre, had espoused Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Burgundy; his two younger sons, Philip and Charles, had married Jane and Blanch, the offspring of Otho, count of Burgundy. But public report loudly impeached the reputation of each princess; and all three were accused of violating the honour of their husbands, and staining the purity of the marriage-bed by their lascivious amours. After a severe examination Margaret and Blanch were condemned to expiate their licentious conduct by perpetual imprisonment; and their paramours, the brothers Philip and Walter de Launy, severely atoned for the transports of illicit love: After suffering the torment of being flayed alive, they were suspended with an usher of the chamber, the confidant of their amours, on a public gibbet.

A reign

A reign of continual activity might have impaired the constitution of Philip, a life of incessant chagrin and disappointment subverted it; the silent progress of a consumption was accelerated by the pangs of domestic vexation. The powers of medicine were exhausted, and even the salubrious air of Fontainebleau could not delay the rapid approach of death; in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-seventh year of his age, Philip expired, in the sentiments of penitence and piety, and with his last breath exhorting his successor to avoid the errors which had embarrassed his own administration. Though avarice and cruelty have cast a shade over his talents and virtues, yet the vigour which he displayed in his contest with Boniface the Eighth, and the success with which he resisted the formidable thunders of the vatican, are sufficient to balance the misfortunes which constantly attended his ambitious wars with Flanders.

CHAPTER XI. ~~XI.~~

*Reign of Lewis the Tenth, surnamed the Boisterous ;
 —Is Succeeded by Philip the Long.—Expedition into
 Italy.—Execution of the Knights Templars.—Death
 of Philip the Long.—Accession of Charles the Fair.—
 Civil Wars in England, and Murder of Edward
 the Second.—Charles aspires to the Imperial Crown
 of Germany.—His Disappointment and Death.*

THE throne of France, on the death of Philip, was occupied by his son Lewis the Tenth, A. D. 1314. surnamed the *Boisterous*, from the rude promise of his infant years. His first queen, Margaret, had been strangled by the command of her husband in the prison of Chateau-Gaillard ; and he endeavoured to forget the vices of a licentious woman in his nuptials with Clemence, the daughter of the king of Hungary. An empty treasury delayed for some time the ceremony of their coronation ; and the king diligently applied himself to conciliate the jealousies and appease the discontents of his new subjects : In this he was seconded by his uncle Charles of Valois, on whom he at length entirely devolved the reins of government.

The first victim to the resentment of Charles was Enguerrand de Poitier de Marigni, a nobleman of Norman extraction, who with A. D. 1315. 1316. the administration of the finances possessed the confidence of the late monarch. He was accused by the count of Valois as the author of the national distress, and the source of the royal necessities. The warmth with which he vindicated his character ensured

ensured the eternal enmity of Charles; and the shameful sentence, in consequence of which he perished on a gibbet, might warn future ministers how they provoked that implacable and powerful prince. The fortunes of Marigni were confiscated to the use of the sovereign; but these were scarcely sufficient to defray the coronation which was celebrated at Rheims; and as much as they fell short of the public expectation, so much did they contribute to establish the innocence of the unfortunate Enguerrand. Far different supplies were necessary for the support of a war with Flanders, which Lewis already meditated: Every species of extortion was devised and practised to plunder the subjects of France; and by the oppression of his people, Lewis raised an army which might have secured the subjection of the Flemings, already enfeebled by the attacks of famine. But Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders, unable to withstand, prudently determined to bend before the storm: By the specious language of submission he involved the king in a series of fruitless negotiations, till the season of action was passed; he then dropped the mask which he had assumed, and on the retreat of the French surprised Courtray, which he had yielded as a pledge of his sincerity: While Lewis, indignant of the arts of his adversary, revolved new preparations and more formidable hostilities, his designs were interrupted by death; after drinking a glass of cold water, and not without the suspicion of poison from the surviving friends of Marigni, he expired in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the second year of his reign; leaving by his first wife, Margaret, who had been crowned queen of Navarre, an only daughter, and his widow Clemence in a state of pregnancy.

Immediately

Immediately on his death, Charles, count of Valois, seized the Louvre, and prepared to dispute the regency with the brothers of his late sovereign. The eldest of these, Philip, count of Poictou, was engaged at Lyons, where a conclave was held for the election of a successor to the vacant apostolical chair. It was not till a month after the decease of his brother, that he was able to terminate the intrigues of the cardinals, and to pursue his more immediate concerns in Paris. During his absence, his pretensions had been supported by the constable, the count of Evreux, who opposed the frantic ambition of his brother Charles of Valois; and the hopes of that turbulent prince vanished on the appearance of Philip, and the unanimous acclamations of the citizens. Although the regency was thus happily settled, a harder task remained in determining the succession: The claim of the princess Joanna, the daughter of Lewis and Margaret, was urged by Charles, count of Marche, the younger brother of the late king and of the present regent, by Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and by the counts of Valois and Evreux, who seemed to consider the kingdom as a great fief: But the majority alleged, that the greatest part of France consisted of Salic lands, which a daughter was debarred from inheriting. and that the succession to the realm ought to be regulated in the same manner. The prospects of Philip were transiently clouded by Clemence being delivered of a son, who survived only three weeks, but who, under the name of John the First, has been enrolled among the kings of France.

The death of this infant established Philip, who from his lofty stature attained the surname of *Long*, on the throne of France. During his short regency he had displayed

A. D.
1317, 1319.

played the important qualities of vigour and valour in a war with Robert, count of Artois, undertaken to support Matilda, countess of Artois, the mother of his consort. To acquire the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, with the county of that name he bestowed upon him the hand of his eldest daughter; and gained his uncle, the count of Evreux, by promising in marriage to his son the infant queen of Navarre; while the count of Marche was soon disposed to concur in the elevation of his brother, and the exclusion of the female line, which opened to his own ambition the road to royalty.

The frank professions and moderate measures of Philip reconciled his subjects to his government, and extinguished the rising sparks of sedition: The Flemings, convinced of the rectitude of his intentions; and terrified by the thunders of the vatican, compelled their count, Robert, to subscribe a fair and equitable peace. He summoned Edward the Second, who had succeeded to the throne of England, to yield him homage for his possessions in France; but that monarch was unwilling to quit a kingdom distracted by contending factions and the ambition of his consort; and his excuses were accepted by the moderation of Philip. But the judgment of the king of France was clouded by the fumes of enthusiasm: In the life-time of his father he had taken the cross; and his subjects had reason to lament the diligence with which he endeavoured to replenish his coffers, that he might fulfil the romantic vow. From the execution of it he was dissuaded by pope John the Twenty-second: The interest of the court of Rome and Italy in general called for the powerful mediation of the king of France; and an army commanded by Philip,

Philip, count of Mans, and son of Charles Valois, entered the country to reconcile the two factions, which raged with eternal enmity, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibelines. These, during the contests of pope Gregory the Eighth and the emperor Henry the Fourth, had arisen in Germany; and for successive centuries they divided and distracted the different states of Italy. The Guelfs supported the pretensions of the pope, the Ghibelines the rights of the emperor; but the count of Mans was persuaded to retreat by the promises of Gallas de Visconti, lord of Milan and the chief of the Ghibelines, without contributing to the influence of the Roman pontiff, or to his own reputation or glory.

The inglorious event of this expedition was lost in a contagious disorder, which swept off myriads of the inhabitants of France. A. D. 1321. The wild fancies of the age impressed the people with an idea that the Jews had conspired with the Saracens to poison the springs and fountains; and that the former had devolved the execution of the visionary treachery on the unfortunate race of men infected with the leprosy, a disease common at that time, and probably the consequence of bad diet. On these chimerical imputations, numbers of the lepers who lived by themselves in hospitals richly endowed, were burnt alive; and the Jews were abandoned to the undiscerning rage of the populace, who insulted their persons and plundered their houses with wanton impunity and impartial rapacity.

The prudence of Philip, when mistaken zeal biassed not his opinions, was ever employed in concerting the real happiness of his people; he attempted to complete a design begun by his predecessors, and to establish a certain

tain standard for the coin, the weights, and the measures throughout France. From the counts of Valois, Blermont, and Bourbon, he purchased their claims of coinage within their own dominions; but though he carefully explained the benefits which must arise to France in general from persevering in this undertaking, he found himself continually embarrassed by new and unexpected obstacles. A report was industriously circulated, that, to surmount these, he intended to levy a fifth on every man's estate; and the public discontent was increased by the disaffection of the clergy, whom the king by a law had excluded from sitting in parliament. The mind of Philip was too sensibly wounded by the injurious suspicions of his subjects; he beheld his honest endeavours productive of jealousy and disappointment; the violence of a fever only gave way to the mortal ravages of a dysentery; and after languishing for about five months, in the sixth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth year of his age, he closed a life of unsuccessful virtue. The historians of a credulous age have not failed to attribute his death to poison; but they all agree in acknowledging that he constantly merited, though he never could acquire, the esteem and affections of his subjects.

The tardy acquiescence of Charles the Fourth in the exclusion of the female line, and the succession of the deceased monarch, was rewarded with the crown of France, and he ascended the throne with the surname of *Fair*. The duke of Burgundy, who had married the eldest daughter of Philip the *Long*, was the first to yield him homage; but he at the same time ineffectually urged the claim of his consort to the county of Poictou, which had been possessed by her father before he attained to royal greatness.

ness: The parliament of France determined that county had only been granted by Philip the Fair to his son and his heirs male, and declared the pretensions of the duke of Burgundy groundless. The next concern which engaged the attention of Charles was to dissolve his marriage with Blanch of Burgundy, who for her irregularities was still confined in the prison of Chateau Gaillard: The convenient pretence of consanguinity enabled the court of Rome to gratify his inclinations; and the king bestowed his hand on Mary, the daughter of Henry, emperor of Germany.

The sceptre of England was at this time held by the feeble hand of Edward the Second, whose queen Isabella was the sister of Charles. Some differences be-

A. D.
1324. 1327.

tween the two kingdoms, induced the latter to summon the former personally to appear in his court, and do homage for the fiefs which he held in France; but the favourite of the king of England, a young man of the name of Spenser, of high rank and of a noble family, had already provoked the enmity of Isabella; he was therefore unwilling to attend his master to Paris, and expose himself in a court where the credit of that princess was so great; still less was he inclined to hazard the absence of the easy and fickle king: At length he embraced an expedient, which seemed contrived to remove all difficulties, but which proved fatal to his own authority and life. Edward resigned to his eldest son, of the same name, and then only thirteen years of age, the dominion of Guienne; and with his mother that prince set out for Paris, to perform the ceremony of homage to his superior lord. But Isabella, on her arrival in France, drew to her side the English fugitives, the common enemies of Spenser and of her husband: Among these

these the most considerable was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welch Marches; who had escaped from a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and was distinguished by his superior animosity to the minister; he was easily admitted to pay his court to the queen, and his person and address soon commanded her affections. To her passion she sacrificed every sentiment of honor and virtue; and the moment she had injured Edward, her contempt for him was changed into implacable hatred. The prince was already in the power of the royal adulterers and her paramour; the court of Isabella was daily swelled by the accession of exiled nobles; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and when Edward required the return of his wife and son, the queen indignantly answered, that she would never set her foot in the kingdom, till Spenser was for ever removed from his presence and councils.

In the transient hostilities between France and England, the celebrated count of Valois, the uncle of the king, had successfully invaded Guienne, and closed a life of turbulent ambition under the pressure of an uncommon disease, which baffled the skill of the physicians; his last breath was devoted to repentance; and he incessantly expressed his contrition for the injury he had offered to the unfortunate Marigni. Before he closed his eyes, a truce had been agreed upon between England and France; but the king was still actuated by the spirit of his uncle, and was eager to take advantage of the weakness of Edward and the dissensions of his family; but he was at the same time sensible that his conduct was strictly watched by the pope and neighbouring princes; he had already consented to receive the homage of the

young Edward, and no pretence any longer remained for openly supporting the party of his sister. Isabella and her son were commanded to retire from the dominions of France; but she had already affianced her son to Philippa, the daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault: His territories offered a secure asylum; the open aid of the count, and the private assistance of her brother Charles, enabled her to raise a force of near three thousand men: With this she sailed from Dort, landed without opposition on the coast of Suffex, and soon found herself at the head of a formidable army. The feeble forces of the royalists were incapable of stemming the torrent; Spenser was condemned without trial, and ignominiously perished on a gibbet; and the unfortunate king himself, after the indignity of a formal deposition and a short confinement, fell a victim in Berkeley-castle to his unfeeling and lascivious consort, and the ruthless ambition of the impatient Mortimer.

Whatever assistance Charles might privately have afforded to his sister, whatever was his secret satisfaction at her success, he publicly affected to arraign her conduct; and during the life of Edward the Second, would never acknowledge the royal title of his son. With more honor and justice he had concurred with his parliament in supporting the claims of Lewis de Bethune to the succession and titles of his grand-father Robert, count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rhetel, in opposition to the pretensions of the uncle of Lewis and the younger son of Robert, who had endeavoured to oppress his nephew. But the important object of the ambition of Charles, which occupied his thoughts and inflamed his hopes, was the imperial diadem of Germany: From the decline of
the

the race of Charlemagne it had constantly been separated from the crown of France ; and the present monarch was ardently desirous of re-uniting the long-lost dignity. In his marriage he had connected himself in that expectation with Henry of Luxemburgh ; and a favourable opportunity seemed now to present itself of attaining the height of mortal grandeur. The imperial dignity had been disputed by Lewis of Bavaria, and by Frederick of Austria ; and the former in A. D.
1325, 1328. a successful field of battle, had rendered himself master of the person of the latter : But his victory could not subdue the inflexible hatred of pope John the Twenty-second ; and the Roman pontiff, fruitful in intrigue, summoned new enemies from every quarter to disturb the tranquillity of his reign. The spiritual thunders of excommunication were hurled against the head of Lewis ; and the execution of the sentence of the successor of St. Peter was entrusted to the arm of Leopold of Austria, the brother of the vanquished and imprisoned Frederick. To strengthen this confederacy, the king of France was allured by the promise of the imperial spoils of the Bavarian, and Frederick was to resign to him the pretensions which he himself had so unpropitiously asserted. Lewis was not ignorant of, or indifferent to, the storm which was gathering ; and he endeavoured to encounter his adversaries with equal arts : By immediately releasing his rival, Frederick, he engaged his grateful friendship, and disarmed his most formidable antagonist. But the pope was not to be diverted from his design by the desertion of so powerful an ally ; the hopes of a considerable sum of money secured the perseverance of Leopold ; and it was determined that a new council

cil of the electors should be held, to transfer the imperial crown to Charles.

Seduced by these vain promises and flattering expectations, the king of France, with a splendid equipage and a gallant train of nobility, set out for the frontiers of Germany; but he was soon convinced that he followed an airy phantom, which constantly eluded his grasp. Of the various princes who had professed themselves in his interest, the avarice of Leopold alone secured his appearance; even the king of Bohemia absented himself with an indifference similar to the rest; and the death of his sister Mary, the queen of France, dissolved the engagements which he had entered into with that crown.

A fall had proved fatal to Mary and the hopes which Charles had derived from her pregnancy: Solicitous to establish by male heirs the peaceable succession of the crown, on the death of his consort he raised to the royal bed his cousin-german, Joanna, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux; yet anticipating the calamities which afterwards afflicted his kingdom, he endeavoured by every alliance to avert the impending tempest. In his treaty with Robert, king of Scotland, he had inserted an article, that in case either Monarch should die without an heir apparent, the states of the kingdom should fill the vacant throne, and the other king should support with his whole force the legality of their nomination against the pretensions of any competitor. But even these precautions were too weak, to restrain the enterprises of inordinate ambition; and the vigilance of the monarch, though thus incessantly displayed, was insufficient to protect his subjects from the miseries to which they were destined.

Charles

Charles, on the death of Edward the second, had summoned his son and successor, Edward the Third, to yield him homage for the lands which he held in France: But in conformity with the general moderation of his government, he accepted as an excuse the unsettled state of that monarch's affairs; and equally inclined to propitiate the princes of the blood, he bestowed on Lewis, the grandson of Lewis the Ninth, the county of Marche, in exchange for Clermont, and erected into a dukedom his barony of Bourbon. The gradual decay of his health announced his approaching dissolution, and he expired in the seventh year of his reign and the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving his queen pregnant: When on his death-bed reminded of settling the succession, he answered, that if his consort was delivered of a daughter, that important care belonged to the parliament.

As the character of Charles was not distinguished by eminent virtues, it also appears to have been devoid of any unworthy vices: His zeal for justice was steady yet temperate; and he punished the daring outrages of Jourdain de Lisle, a powerful nobleman of Aquitain, without regard to his wealth, his birth, or his marriage with the niece of pope John. That turbulent baron had been summoned to answer before the king to eighteen crimes, of which he had been accused; he hesitated not to swell the number by the inhuman murder of the officer who had been directed to cite him: Yet vain of his alliance with the Roman pontiff, he had the imprudence soon after to enter the court of that sovereign, whose justice he had braved, and whose dignity he had so dangerously wounded: The king commanded him instantly to be arrested, and sentenced him to the ignominy of a public

public execution, the just reward of his atrocious guilt.

From Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin, the crown of France had descended from father to son for eleven generations; and the successive reigns of the different monarchs had all contributed to extend their dominions and authority: They had shaken off their servile dependence on the clergy, they had reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and had established the royal revenue on a more certain and permanent foundation; after near three centuries and a half the immediate posterity of Hugh expired in Charles the Fourth, and the sceptre was placed in the hands of the race of Valois.

CHAPTER XII.

Accession of Philip the Sixth, surnamed the Fortunate, the first of the race of Valois.—Claim of Edward the Third of England.—Character of Robert of Artois;—Of James Darterville.—Wars between France and England.—Battle of Crecy.—Siege of Calais.—Truce between France and England.—Death of Philip the Sixth.

THE male posterity of Philip the Fair expired in Charles the Fourth; and while the A. D. 1328. succession depended on the fruit of his widow's pregnancy, the unsettled state of the kingdom demanded a regent. Two competitors appeared for this important trust; and in their pretensions

pretensions to the regency, urged their claims to the crown. The one was Philip de Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king, being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair; the other was Edward, king of England, who in right of his mother aspired to the throne of France as the nephew of Charles the Fair. But females had long been excluded by an established opinion which had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law: It had been recently confirmed in the succession of Philip the Long, in preference to the daughter of Lewis the Tenth; and even had it been admitted, it must have proved fatal to the hopes of Edward, as each of the three last kings had left behind them daughters who were still alive. Under these circumstances, Edward thought proper to abandon the ground of immediate female succession; and to assert, that although his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, yet he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of proximity; and that while the weakness of a woman was precluded from ascending the throne of France, the same exclusion did not extend to the manly pretensions of her issue. Yet had this argument been allowed, the prospects of Edward would have been intercepted by Charles, king of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis, surnamed the Boisterous; but they were equally opposed by custom and policy; the claim of Philip de Valois to the regency was unanimously admitted; and on the queen dowager being delivered of a daughter, he ascended the throne of France with the surname of Fortunate.

The

The coronation of the new monarch was celebrated at Rheims, and among the peers who assisted was Lewis, count of Flanders, persecuted and driven into exile by his subjects for his inviolable attachment to France. The honour and interest of Philip both prompted him to restore him, and the first moments of his reign were employed in levying a powerful army: Accompanied by the king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the flower of his nobility, he entered Flanders, and found the Flemings strongly entrenched on the side of a steep mountain, with a river in their front, and the town of Cassel in their rear. Their inferior numbers were supplied by their impracticable position; and Philip must have retired equally inglorious with his predecessors, had he not been preserved from so disgraceful a measure by the precipitate valour of the Flemings themselves. On the memorable eve of St. Bartholemew they issued from their works, and attacked the French with an impetuosity as resistless as it was unexpected; they penetrated even to the tent of the king, who escaped with difficulty amidst the general confusion. But his skill and example soon rallied his flying troops, and he severely avenged his danger and disgrace; the Flemings were totally defeated; the town of Cassel was abandoned to the flames; and the subjects of the count of Flanders, were compelled, reluctantly, to receive a master whom they regarded with increase of hatred.

Although the pretensions of Edward to the regency had been rejected by the general voice of France, yet Philip could not reflect on the claim of so formidable a rival without a latent spark of jealousy. He had already

A. D.
1329, 1330.

already summoned the English monarch to yield him homage for the lands he held in France; and in consequence of his contemptuous silence had seized his revenues in that kingdom. To obtain the restoration of these, Edward thought proper to pass the seas, and submit to the servile ceremony at Amiens. The spirit of a haughty and gallant youth might have revolted, in a martial age, at appearing bare-headed and without arms or spurs before a prince whose equal he considered himself; and the prudence of Philip consented to receive the homage in any form, on condition that it should be afterwards explained in the manner most satisfactory to him. On the return of Edward to England, this explanation was studiously delayed; and Charles, duke of Alençon, the brother of the king of France, entered Guienne, and possessed himself of Sainte. Unwilling to forfeit so rich an inheritance, the king of England sent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; and the flame of enmity between the rival sovereigns would perhaps have been finally extinguished, had it not been fanned by the intrigues of a powerful and discontented subject of France.

Robert of Artois was descended from the blood royal of France, had espoused the sister of Philip, and was still more distinguished by his enterprising capacity than by his birth or alliance. In the late contest for the regency he had pleaded the cause of Philip with splendid eloquence and successful energy; and in the war with Flanders he added the fame of a soldier and a general to the reputation he had before acquired of an orator and a statesman. He had already been gratified with several marks of royal favour; but he found
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although Philip was inclined to reward a servant, he was too prudent to create a master: He had lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright, by a sentence commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was now tempted to recover it by means unworthy of his rank and character. The written evidences which he produced to support his claim were, on inspection, discovered to be forged; and the detection of this crime covered him with shame and confusion. The king of France, his brother-in-law, with an honourable indignation not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. From the disgrace and punishment which impended over him, Robert escaped to Brabant; and driven thence by the menaces of Philip, with the wealth which he had amassed he passed over to England. He was received with respect and regard by Edward; nor could the repeated remonstrances of the French king exclude him from the councils and the confidence of the English monarch. Perhaps the favour of Edward towards Robert of Artois was first suggested by the resentment with which he beheld David Bruce, who had fled from the sword of his competitor, Baliol, king of Scotland, partially entertained by the court of France; and the suspicion that Philip, by his secret practices, still encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independence. But the arts of Robert soon revived in the mind of his new patron his former pretensions to the crown of France, and the flattering prospect which was presented to his view by the specious colouring of an enraged exile, was regarded by Edward with boundless hope and expectation.

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From this instant both princes, relinquishing all ideas of peace, industriously prepared for war. Under pretence of unfurling the holy banner against the infidels, Philip diligently levied new forces, and fitted out a considerable fleet; he attached to his interests the pope, the king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, and the count of Bar; and fortified himself on the side of Germany with the alliance of the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. On the other, Edward was supported by his father-in-law, the count of Hainault; and engaged by large subsidies the dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, and the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen: But his most considerable and important ally was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent.

In the cultivation of arts and manufactures the lower ranks of the Flemings had acquired a degree of independence generally unknown in an age when the common people were almost universally enslaved by the feudal institutions. With the increase of wealth they became more ardent in the pursuit of that freedom, which alone could secure the possession of it: In successive tumultuary conflicts they had insulted their nobles, and driven their earl into exile; but the seditious herd consented to obey the commanding genius of James d'Arteville, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. Constantly accompanied by a guard devoted to his will, his displeasure was the signal of immediate death; the magistrates were

were entirely dependent on his nod; and every city of Flanders was filled with his spies and adherents. The estates of those whom he had banished or murdered, he converted to his own use; and the few nobles who ventured to remain within the reach of his lawless tyranny, were compelled to propitiate his rage by the most abject submissions. To this arrogant and arbitrary demagogue Edward assiduously applied himself; and the English monarch, naturally baughty and aspiring, courted the friendship and alliance of the Flemish tradesman by every flattering profession that interest could suggest.

A considerable time had been consumed in secret negotiations and warlike preparations; A. D. 1338. and both sides, impatient of further delay, were ready to enter upon action. Edward, with a formidable armament, passed the seas, and landed at Sluys: But two obstacles still remained; the vassals of the empire could not act under the command of Edward, without the direction of the emperor, who still maintained the exterior of peace with France; and the Flemings pretended the same scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord. The first was overcome by the emperor Lewis appointing Edward *vicar of the empire*; an empty honour, but which served to banish the doubts of the German princes: And, to obviate the second, Edward, by the advice of James d'Arteville, assumed the title of king of France, and branded Philip de Valois, with the name of Usurper. Yet the king of England ventured not on this step without hesitation and reluctance; and his mind seemed filled with too true a presage of the calamities which would ensue to the rival kingdoms from this fatal source of eternal enmity.

After

After having devoted, to gratify his German allies, a few moments in the fruitless siege of Cambray, Edward advanced towards the frontiers of France; and was soon convinced of the difficulties he must contend with by the desertion of his brother-in-law the count of Hainault, and the count of Namur, who disregarding the claim of Edward to the crown of France, refused to act against their liege lord, and retired with the troops under their immediate command. Yet this diminution of his forces did not prevent Edward from passing the Scheld, and appearing in the fields of Veronsoffe, near Capelle, with an army of fifty thousand men. Near one hundred thousand French, commanded by the flower of their nobility, and animated by the presence of their monarch, approached those plains: But the prudence of Philip was conspicuous on this occasion; and he was determined to avoid a decisive action, in which he could gain but little and must hazard much. It was his duty to defend his country, without unnecessarily exposing it to the chance of war; and he soon reaped the fruits of his caution, since the exhausted finances of his adversary compelled him to disband his army, after having anticipated his revenue, and incurred a heavy debt in the hopeless enterprise.

On the retreat of his rival, the attention of Philip was first occupied in the endeavour of reconciling the Flemings to their exiled lord, and alluring them to the cause of France; but his efforts were baffled by the influence of James d'Arteville, who steadily adhered to Edward. After a year wasted in desultory descents on either coast, and indecisive actions at sea, the French monarch was once more aroused by

A. D.
1339, 1340.

by the formidable preparations of the king of England to the defence of his crown and kingdom. For this purpose he fitted out a fleet of four hundred vessels, manned with forty thousand men, and stationed them off Sluys, to intercept the passage of Edward. The English navy consisted only of two hundred and forty sail; but the wind was favourable to their hopes, and they were encouraged by the presence and example of their king. The encounter was fierce and bloody, and such as might be expected in an age when the sovereignty of the sea depended rather on personal valour than naval skill. In the heat of the action, the Flemings, near whose coast the French had imprudently engaged, issued from their harbours, and oppressed their weary adversaries with fresh and unexpected fury; two hundred and thirty of the French ships were taken; and with two admirals of France perished thirty thousand of her bravest seamen: So fatal was the loss, that the courtiers of Philip preserved a gloomy silence; and the sovereign was at length informed of the national calamity by the privileged tongue of a licensed jester.

The success of Edward raised the hopes of his allies, who, in the moment of prosperity, crowded to his standard: At the head of a various army, composed of different nations, and amounting to one hundred thousand men, he pointed his march towards the frontiers of France, while fifty thousand Flemings, under the command of Robert of Artois, laid siege to St. Omer. But this undisciplined and tumultuous crowd was routed by a sally from the garrison, and was not to be rallied again by the capacity or exertions of their leader. Philip had already drawn together the scattered
forces

forces of his kingdom; the numbers of his host were ennobled by the quality of his adherents; and the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre marched under his banner. He found Edward engaged in the blockade of Tournay, a city whose fortifications and garrison had resisted the incessant assaults of the English, and which the besiegers could only hope to reduce by famine. The count of Eu, to whose valour and perseverance the defence of this important town was entrusted, had expelled from the walls every useless mouth; and the duke of Brabant, jealous of the success of Edward, allowed to the inhabitants, thus exiled, a free passage through his quarters.

For ten weeks Edward had pressed his attacks, or intercepted the supplies of Tournay; but the approach of Philip dissipated his visionary hopes. To the vain bravado of the English monarch to decide their differences in single combat, the king of France coldly replied, that Edward having done homage to him for Guienne, and solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it ill became him to send a challenge to his liege lord; but that if he would put the kingdom of England on the issue of their personal prowess, he would readily accept the challenge. Although these mutual defiance might serve to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, both monarchs, equally tired of a fruitless campaign, listened to the peaceful remonstrances of Jane, the countess dowager of Hainault. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip. To assuage the animosities of contending kings, she had left the holy walls of her convent, and her pious efforts were productive of a truce for a year, which left both parties in possession of their different acquisitions, and allowed each time to prepare for fresh hostilities.

Before even this short term could elapse, an event as unfortunate as it was unforeseen

A. D. 1341.

foreseen kindled again the flames of war, and spread their destructive progress to a much wider extent. John, the third duke of Brittany, sensible of his approaching end, was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which a disputed succession might expose his subjects; he considered a daughter, the only issue of his brother the count of Penthièvre, as his heir; and preferred her title to that of the count of Mountfort, his brother by a different mother: He was farther confirmed in this opinion by his own family having inherited the duchy from a female; he accordingly bestowed the hand of his niece on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France, by his mother, Margaret of Valois, sister of that monarch, and who, from his abilities and connection, was, he presumed, capable of defending the claim he thus transferred to him. The Bretons concurred in his choice; and among his vassals the count of Mountfort, the male heir, swore fealty to Charles and his consort, as their future sovereigns.

But the death of John revived the ambition of Mountfort; and while Charles was employed in soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, his daring competitor, by force or intrigue, had made himself master of Rennes, Nantz, Brest, and Hennebonne; and had secretly engaged to yield homage to Edward, as the king of France, for the duchy of Brittany. Such a vassal opened to the king of England a passage into the heart of France; this consideration was enforced by the eloquence of Robert of Artois; and Edward readily consented to a treaty which at once flattered his hopes of dominion and his thirst for revenge.

Philip had early suspected the correspondence between Mountfort and the king of England; and when the latter ventured to appear at Paris, determined to arrest him, and compel him to restore what

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he had seized. Jealous of the intentions of the king of France, that nobleman withdrew; and his retreat was the signal of war between him and Charles of Blois. In support of his kinsman, John, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of Philip, entered Brittany, and invested Mountfort in the city of Nantz. The fortifications of that place might perhaps have resisted for some time the attack of the besiegers, but Nantz was betrayed by the treachery of the inhabitants; and Mountfort himself was conducted a captive to Paris, and confined in the Louvre.

Philip, who had succeeded to the throne of France by the exclusion of the female line, armed in support of his nephew, whose claim was derived from his marriage with a niece of the late duke of Brittany, and held in chains a prince whose pretensions were similar to his own: But the party of Mountfort was still animated by the manly spirit of his consort, who, instead of deploring with female weakness the captivity of her husband, roused the states of Brittany to resist an usurper imposed upon them by the arms of France. Invested in Hennebonne, she sustained with undaunted courage the assaults of Charles of Blois; when the strength of that city seemed exhausted, she broke through the lines of the besiegers, retired to Brest, and forced her passage back, with the important succour of five hundred horse. These examples of female valour might retard, but could not have averted the fate of Hennebonne; a capitulation had already been proposed by the bishop of Leon, when the exulting countess beheld from the rampart the long-expected fleet of England steering to her relief. Six thousand archers, with a body of heavy cavalry, were immediately landed under the command of Sir Walter Manny, a brave and experienced leader; and Charles of Blois was compelled to retire with a sigh of disappointment from the hopeless siege.

A more considerable reinforcement
A. D. 1342, 1343. soon followed these, under the guidance
 of Robert of Artois; and the impatient
 exile signalised his prowess by the successful
 attack of Vannes. The Bretons who adhered to
 Charles, secretly assembled to recover this important
 city; and Robert was compelled to relinquish his
 prey, after receiving a wound which soon after ter-
 minated a life, the source of so many calamities to
 his country. Edward, eager to revenge the fate of
 his ally, landed himself with an army of 12000 men
 at Morbien, near Vannes, and commenced at once
 the three important sieges of Vannes, of Rennes,
 and of Nantz. But by dividing his forces, he failed
 in every enterprise; and while he faintly prosecuted
 his attempt against Vannes, Philip had drawn toge-
 ther an army of thirty thousand infantry, and four
 thousand cavalry. These entered Brittany, com-
 manded by his eldest son, John, duke of Normandy;
 and by their superior numbers, and lines of circum-
 vallation, invested in their turn the besiegers. Fa-
 mine had already penetrated into the camp of the
 English; but the policy of Edward prevailed, when
 his arms were useless; in the moment when the
 duke of Normandy was master of the fate of his op-
 ponents, and might have dictated terms which would
 have extinguished the flames of discord, he was in-
 duced, by the mediation of two legates of the court
 of Rome, to subscribe a truce for three years on
 these fair and equitable conditions: That all prison-
 ers should be released; that the places in Brittany
 should remain in the hands of the present possessors;
 that the allies on both sides should be comprehended
 in the cessation of arms; and that Vannes should be
 sequestered into the hands of the legates during the
 truce, to be afterwards disposed of according to
 their pleasure. Though Edward was sensible of the
 partiality of the Pope to Philip; and the consequent
 disposal

disposal of Vannes, he gladly subscribed terms which saved his honour, extricated him from his immediate distress, and dismissed him to meditate new hostilities.

Philip had engaged with invariable reluctance in a war from which he had so much to apprehend: The enterprises of his rival had indeed been constantly baffled; but his own finances were exhausted in the fruitless contention; and he had sacrificed at Vannes the immediate advantages he had obtained, to a truce which he flattered himself might be converted into a solid peace. He was soon roused from this visionary hope by the formidable preparations of his indefatigable rival. The pretence for war was the punishment of some nobles of Brittany, whom Edward asserted to be partisans of Mountfort, and whose execution he deemed an infraction of the treaty. While Philip strengthened himself by a treaty with Humbert, the second dauphin of the Viennois, and by the purchase of Montpellier from the king of Majorca, the English under the command of the Earl of Derby, had invaded Guienne, twice defeated a French army entrusted to the count of Lisle, and possessed themselves of Monsegur, Monpessat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, with the fortresses of Damassen, Aiguillon, Angoulême, and Reole.

The exhausted state of the French treasury rendered Philip for some time incapable of opposing the torrent; and the duty which he was reduced to lay upon salt, had almost provoked his people into open rebellion: But as soon as these discontents were assuaged, an army was hastily levied of one hundred thousand men. The confidence of the soldiers in their superior numbers was augmented by the presence of the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy; the earl of Derby was compelled to act upon the defensive; Angoulême was taken after a vigorous resistance;

A. D.
1344, 1345.

ance; and the son of Philip was recalled from the blockade of Aiguillon by the fatal rashness of his father, and a defeat that seemed to expose the French monarchy to immediate destruction.

A. D. 1346. To defend Guienne, and to succour the Earl of Derby, Edward had collected at Southampton a fleet of near a thousand sail, and an army of thirty thousand men; he embarked on board it, with his son the Prince of Wales, then only fifteen years of age, and the flower of his nobility; but his intentions were baffled by the obstinacy of the winds; and he was prevailed on to change the object of his destination by Geoffrey D'Harcourt, an exiled noble of Normandy, who supplied in the councils of the king the loss of Robert of Artois. Harcourt strongly enforced the advantages that would attend the invasion of Normandy; destitute of any military force, its fertile fields and opulent towns presented a ready harvest and rich plunder to the first invader; while its vicinity to the capital of France rendered every event of importance in those quarters. His arguments were decisive; and Edward ordering his fleet to steer for the Norman coast, safely landed his forces at La Hogue.

Philip received with astonishment and terror the intelligence of the unexpected invasion of his rival; it was immediately followed by the melancholy tidings that the counts of Eu and Tancarville, who had endeavoured to oppose him, were defeated and taken prisoners; that the rich town of Caen was surprised and plundered; and that the devastations of the English were extended with licentious fury along the peaceable banks of the Seine. While the king of France assembled his forces, he had the mortification to behold his capital insulted, and his palace of St. Germain consumed, by the incursions and flames of his enemies; but if the first moments were abandoned

done to despair, the successive hours were cheered by the prospect of victory, and the hope of revenge : The nobility of France crowded to the standard of their sovereign ; three royal leaders, the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, and the king of Majorca, marched under his banners ; and an host of one hundred and twenty thousand men promised to chastise the temerity, and overwhelm the martial train of Edward. That prince, disappointed in his intentions of passing the Seine, pointed his march towards the Somme ; but the same obstacles presented themselves again ; the bridges on that river were either broken down or strongly guarded ; a numerous detachment was stationed on the opposite banks ; and the host of Philip already pressed upon his rear. The promise of liberal reward induced at last a peasant, whose name of Gobin Agace history has preserved from oblivion, to betray the interest of his country, and to inform Edward of a ford below Abbeville. At the head of his troops the king entered the river, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them over the plain ; while Philip arrived just in time to endure the mortification of beholding his adversary's rear-guard cross the Somme, and his own troops prevented by the returning tide from continuing the pursuit.

The king of France immediately took his route over the bridge of Abbeville, and burning with resentment, beheld his enemy strongly posted near the memorable village of Crecy : His most experienced officers advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his troops would have recovered from their fatigue ; but although Philip assented to this counsel, it was no longer in his power to carry it into execution. His progress from Abbeville seemed rather the tumultuous pursuit of a flying foe, than a well-conducted march to encounter a formidable enemy ; one division pressed upon another, and
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the foremost ranks had arrived in the presence of the English. The first line consisted of fifteen thousand Genoese, armed with cross-bows; but a little before the engagement, a thunder shower had relaxed the strings of these weapons, while the English archers, who maintained on that day the fame they had before acquired, drew their bows from their cases, and poured a shower of arrows on their defenceless opponents. The confusion of the Genoese was increased by the furious charge of Edward prince of Wales; and the cavalry of France in vain endeavoured to check the ardour and destructive valour of that martial prince. The numbers of the French long supplied the want of order and discipline; but at length the route was universal; nor could the battle be restored even by the example of Philip himself: One horse had already been killed under him: and as he mounted another, to charge again his enemies, the reins of his bridle were seized by John of Hanault, and the monarch was reluctantly conveyed off the field of battle.

On the disastrous plains of Crecy perished twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand of the common soldiers. Among the slain were the kings of Bohemia and Majorca; the former blind from age, guided by two gentlemen, who fastened the reins of his horse to their's, rushed into the thickest of the slaughter, and there gallantly expired fighting; his motto, with these German words, *Ich dien, I serve*, was adopted by the Prince of Wales, and has been preserved by his successors. The triumph of the victors was scarce alloyed by any loss; and only three knights, with one esquire, and very few of inferior note, are reported to have perished on the side of the English.

A. D. 1346.

In a few days after the battle of Crecy, Edward, with his victorious army, formed the

the siege of Calais; and Philip recalled from Guienne the duke of Normandy, to join the shattered remains of his forces. In Brittany the arms of France had been equally unfortunate, and Charles of Blois was defeated and taken prisoner by the Countess of Mountfort; yet his consort revived the spirit of his friends by her example; and Brittany, in successive martial enterprizes, acknowledged and admired the valour of these hostile and heroic dames. Some consolation might be derived from the state of Flanders; the fickle Flemings recalled their count, and murdered James D'Arteville, who had attempted to transfer the sovereignty of that country to the Prince of Wales; but the danger of Calais still loudly called for the succour of Philip; with an host, which has been computed at two hundred thousand men, he advanced towards the devoted city; but he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and so secured by entrenchments, that any attempt was deemed impracticable; and Philip was compelled with a sigh of despair, to resign his faithful subjects to their impending fate.

The defence of Calais had been entrusted to the courage and constancy of John A. D. 1347 of Vienne, a knight of Burgundy, whose vigilance and bravery justified the important appointment, and for near a year had repulsed the assaults, and baffled the stratagems of Edward. But the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity by famine and fatigue; and the king of England would only consent to suspend the general destruction, on condition that six of the most considerable of the citizens should atone for the obstinacy of the rest, by submitting their lives to his disposal, and presenting the keys of their city with ropes about their necks. While the wretched people gazed on each other, lost in despair, Eustace de St. Pierre, (may his name be immortal) offered to encounter death for the safety of

of his friends and companions. The generous flame of enthusiasm was soon communicated, and five more intreated to share the glory and danger; they appeared erect and undaunted before the haughty victor; but Edward was dissuaded from sullyng his fame by the inhuman sacrifice; and at the intercession of his queen Philippa, who was just returned from vanquishing and leading in chains David Bruce, the king of Scotland, he dismissed these gallant and almost disappointed burghers.

A D.
1348, 1350. In every stage of the war Philip had constantly expressed his wish for peace; his defeat at Crecy rendered him still more desirous to restore tranquillity to his country; while Edward, amidst his triumphs, was unable any longer to support the expence of victory. Under these circumstances, the mediation of the court of Rome was readily accepted; and a truce was concluded between the rival monarchs for three years. In France the ravages of war had been followed by the meagre foot-steps of famine, and the pestilential breath of contagious disease. An attempt which had been made in Calais was therefore strenuously disavowed by Philip; and as it had proved unsuccessful, the disavowal was accepted by Edward. But the King of France received at this period a rich compensation for the losses he had sustained in war, by the acquisition of Dauphiny, which has ever since afforded the title of dauphin to the eldest son of the crown. Humbert, the prince of that country, disappointed in his hopes of marrying Joan, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, resigned his territories to Charles, the grandson of Philip, on whom that lady had bestowed her hand, and retired into the order of St. Dominic. The king himself, at this time a widower, soon after espoused Blanch, the daughter of Philip, count of Evreux, and Jane, Queen of Navarre; the beauty of this princess had diverted him from his first

first intention of demanding her for his son, the Duke of Normandy, who united himself with the Countess of Bologne : But the satisfaction which these marriages afforded was in less than a year interrupted by the death of the king, who expired in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third year of a reign which but ill justified his surname of Fortunate.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIII.

John, surnamed the Fortunate, King of France.—Character of Charles, King of Navarre.—War with England.—Battle of Poitiers.—Defeat and captivity of John.—Regency of the Dauphin.—Disorders in France.—Peace with England.—John restored to freedom, afterwards returns to England, and dies there.

A. D.
1350, 1351.

JOHN, duke of Normandy, succeeded to the throne of France on the death of his father; and the enviable surname of *Good*, was the reward of his piety, his sincerity, and integrity; but while his subjects contemplated with pleasure these virtues, they could not be blind to the defects by which they were alloyed: He possessed not that masterly prudence and foresight which the difficult situation of his kingdom required; and he seemed to inherit from Philip, that impetuosity which had already proved so fatal to France. He had scarce established his authority, before the nobility were disgusted by an act of unseasonable severity: Robert de Brienne, count of Eu and of Guisnes, had been taken prisoner by the king of England at Caen; under pretence of negotiating his ransom, he passed several times between France and England; but John suspected him of more dangerous practices; and he was accused of an intention to resign the important district of Guisnes to Edward. By the command of his sovereign he was suddenly arrested, and beheaded, without even the form of trial: In his last moments he was said to have acknowledged his treasonable designs; but the confession has ever been doubted

doubted by contemporary historians; and the execution has fixed an indelible blot on the memory of John. The constable's sword was delivered into the hands of Charles de le Cerda; but his fate was equally unfortunate with that of his predecessor; and he had scarce attained the enviable dignity, before he fell the victim of assassination.

The author of this atrocious deed was Charles, king of Navarre, to whom the epithet of *Wicked* has been with justice affixed. Descended from males of the blood-royal of France, and the grandson, by his daughter, of Lewis the Boisterous, he had espoused Joanna, the daughter of John: But these ties, which ought to have induced him to support, only animated his efforts to overthrow, the throne; his personal qualities were the admiration of France and Navarre; he was courteous, affable, enterprising, and eloquent; insinuating in his address, and enterprising in his designs: But reverse the portrait and he was faithless, revengeful, and malicious; insatiate of power, and unrestrained by principle. He had demanded the county of Angouleme, but the king had bestowed it on Charles de le Cerda, and he for ever destroyed his own honour to avenge himself on his competitor. Yet so weak was the crown, that the king of Navarre braved with impunity the royal indignation which he had provoked; nor would he submit to the vain ceremony of asking pardon for the offence, till he had farther insulted the king of France, by demanding and receiving the second son of John as a hostage for his security.

Charles had not deigned to conceal his pretensions in right of his mother to the crown of France; but he urged with vehemence his more immediate claim to the counties of Champagne and Brie. To obviate any further dispute, John bestowed the duchy of Normandy on his

A. D.
1352, 1354.

his eldest son, Charles, who now bore the title of dauphin, and commanded him to seize the estates of the king of Navarre: The measure was presently attended by the appearance of that monarch at Paris; and John was glad to appease his turbulent murmurs, at the expence of one hundred thousand crowns.

The truce between the kingdoms of France and England had been but ill observed on both sides; the French had possessed themselves of the sea-port of St. Jean d'Angeli; and the English had surprised Guisnes: Every thing seemed to threaten a revival of former hostilities; the houses of Mountfort and Blois still displayed in arms their unabated enmity; while the ambition of Edward was fanned by the factious counsels of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who no longer remembered the pardon he had received from Philip; and by the daring intrigues of the king of Navarre: Even the dauphin was allured by the arts of that prince, to join the formidable confederacy, and to conspire against his father. But John was informed of their secret designs; he reclaimed his son by pointing out to him the danger and imprudence of these connexions; and made use of his penitence to draw the king of Navarre and his adherents into a snare. At an entertainment at Rouen, these were arrested; the former was sent prisoner to Chateau Gaillard; and several of the most obnoxious of the latter were immediately executed. Yet the severity of the king, and the treachery of the dauphin, instead of deterring the other conspirators, determined them instantly to erect the standard of rebellion. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, armed the towns and castles which they occupied in Normandy, and solicited in their distress the succour of England.

A. D. 1355

To these solicitations the aspiring hopes of Edward never suffered him to be indifferent;

ferent ; on the expiration of the truce the prince of Wales had sailed with a fleet into the Garonne, ravaged the adjacent country, delivered to the flames the towns and villages of Languedoc, and retired with his spoil into the county of Guienne ; while Edward himself from Calais had extended his devastations as far as St. Omer. The misfortunes of his father Philip were still fresh in the mind of John ; and on this occasion he displayed a prudence which it would have been happy for his country had he continued to exert : He restrained the constable of Bourbon, though at the head of a superior army, from hazarding an engagement with the prince of Wales ; while he himself, with the flower of his forces, pursued the retreating footsteps of the king of England from St. Omer to Hesdin ; at this place John defied his rival to a pitched battle ; but Edward, scarce noticing the bravado, continued his march to Calais, and embarked for England.

The expences of the war had exhausted the coffers of the king of France ; and in an assembly of the states at Paris, he explained the distressed situation of his finances, and implored their assistance for the defence of the kingdom. The states-general consented to maintain, during the continuance of the war, thirty thousand men ; to revive the duty on salt, which had been abolished on the death of Philip ; and added a variety of other imposts, to supply the exigencies of government ; but with the spirit of freemen, and a prudent jealousy of the crown, they appointed a committee of their own members to take care that the money thus levied was entirely appropriated to the public service.

The satisfaction which John might receive from these important supplies, and from the concurrence of his people, was interrupted by the intrigues of the king of Navarre, which have been already noticed, and by the open revolt

A. D. 1356.

revolt of Geoffrey d'Harcourt in Normandy : His nephew the count of Harcourt, had been beheaded, with several others, when the king of Navarre was betrayed by the dauphin. Geoffrey himself soon after fell in an unsuccessful skirmish ; but these gleams of prosperity were over-cast by the intelligence that the prince of Wales had marched from Bourdeaux with an army of twelve thousand men, and after ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limousin, had entered the province of Berry. Philip immediately penetrating into the design of that prince, to join the male-contents in Normandy, where the earl of Lancaster acted with an English army, caused the bridges of the Loire to be broken down, and the passes to be carefully guarded. With an army of sixty thousand men, he prepared to surround and punish the rash invaders ; at Maupertuis, about two leagues from Poitiers, he descried his enemy : The precipitate courage of Philip and his nobility would not suffer them to avail themselves of their numbers, which might have intercepted the provisions of the English, and compelled them to surrender without striking a blow. But when determined on battle, they were fatally prevailed on to delay the signal for attack by the interposition of the cardinal of Perrigord ; the pious prelate having heard of the approach of the two armies, had hastened to prevent, by his mediation, the effusion of christian blood : But his efforts were ineffectual ; Edward indeed offered to purchase a retreat by ceding all the conquests which he had made during this and the former campaign ; and stipulating not to bear arms against France during the course of seven years : But John insisted that the prince of Wales himself, with an hundred of his attendants, should yield themselves prisoners ; a prize which he hoped the king of England would consent to ransom by the restitution of Calais.

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The language of negotiation was no longer heard; but France had reason to lament the officious interposition of the cardinal of Perigord; and Edward had diligently employed the short interval to fortify his post. The first line of the French was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second, by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; and the third, by the king himself, who was accompanied by Philip, his fourth son, then only fourteen years of age. The French were separated from the English by a narrow lane, and the marshals Andrehan and Clermont were ordered to open this pass with a select detachment; but the English had lined the hedges with archers, numbers of the French fell before they reached the plain; and the survivors were charged and routed by the prince of Wales. At this instant the Caput de Buche, who had been ordered by Edward by a circuitous route, to attack the flank of the French, unexpectedly fell, with six hundred chosen soldiers, on the line commanded by the dauphin. The nobles to whom the care of that prince had been entrusted, hurried him from the field of battle; his troops followed their example; the duke of Orleans attacked at once in front and rear, joined the flight; and two lines of the French were in a short time thus totally routed and dispersed. A third still remained, commanded by the king himself; and the personal valour of John was not wanting to retrieve the error into which his rashness had betrayed him. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ardour of the English was irresistible, and Edward himself on that day appeared invincible. Deserted at length on every side, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, the king of France still continued to defend himself, repeatedly exclaiming, "Where is my cousin the prince of Wales?" Informed that Edward was at a distance, he threw

down his gauntlet, and yielded himself to Denis de Morbec, a knight of Arras.

John was received by the victor with every mark of generous respect; and during a repast which was immediately prepared, the prince of Wales served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. The defeat of Poitiers induced France to solicit a truce; and Edward, sensible that his forces were too weak to improve his advantage, and desirous of safely conveying his royal prisoner to England, assented to the proposal. The reception of John at the court of London was a repetition of the same respectful conduct that he had already experienced, and his calamity was alleviated by the constant exertion of courteous humanity.

A. D. 1357. But the defeat of Poitiers had inflicted a wound on the prosperity of France, which was still further inflamed by the intestine commotions of that country. In the absence and captivity of the king, the dauphin had assumed the reins of government; but his inexperienced youth exposed his authority to insult; and the assembly of the states, which he summoned, embraced the opportunity, amidst the general confusion, to limit the power of their prince, to impeach the former misconduct of his ministers, and to demand the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, a factious partizan of that monarch's, provost of the merchant's, and first magistrate of Paris, filled by his intrigues that city with confusion; at his instigation a lawless bravo had murdered the treasurer of the crown; at the command of the dauphin, the marshals Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, dragged the assassin from the sanctuary of the altar, and immediately executed him; but the bishop of Paris exclaimed against this invasion of the privilege of the church, and Marcel avenged the fate of his adherent; the two marshals were butchered in the presence of the

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the dauphin; his clothes were even stained with their blood; and when Charles asked with some emotion if he was to be involved in the same destruction, the insolence of Marcel affected to provide for his security by placing on his head a blue hood, the badge of the partizans of Navarre: That monarch had escaped from his prison to increase the public disorders; and Charles was reduced to cultivate towards him an appearance of regard, though he strongly suspected him of having administered to him a dose of poison, the immediate effects of which he surmounted by the goodness of his constitution.

The chiefs of the sedition had flattered themselves with the hope of changing the government, of vesting the power in the commons, and leaving the king an empty title; but this wild scheme which was favourably received in Paris, was rejected by the other great cities; the dauphin was recognized by the states-general as regent, and the inhabitants of Picardy and Champagne armed in his cause.

The misery of France was heightened by a new and unexpected evil: The peasants, formerly oppressed, and now unprotected by their masters, felt the pang of want sharpened by the derision of the nobles. The phrase of *Jacque bon Homme* had been applied to them by the contempt of their superiors, and they now rose in myriads to avenge their wrongs and insults; the castles of the gentry were consumed with fire, or levelled to the ground; their wives and daughters were ravished or murdered; and the savage fury of the rude barbarians beheld with pleasure their former lords expire under the most exquisite torments. The nobles at length assembled for their mutual defence: The duke of Orleans cut off ten thousand in the neighbourhood of Paris; the king of Navarre put to the sword twelve thousand, with their principal leader, William Caillet; nine thousand of them had assaulted in Meaux the consort

of the dauphin, and three other ladies of quality ; but in an age of chivalry, the defence of the fair was the chief glory of the brave ; the Captal of Buche, though in the service of Edward, flew to the protection of these trembling dames : His gallantry was successful ; the peasants were routed with cruel slaughter ; and amidst these wild ravages of war, we are pleased to discern the vestiges of more tender emotions.

Marcel, the seditious provost, had perished in a tumult of his own exciting ; and the authority of the dauphin was supported by the most prudent and most virtuous of the French. By declaring that he would never acknowledge the house of Valois, the king of Navarre had allured to his standard the independent bodies of Norman and English troops, which on the truce had been left to seek their own subsistence ; with these he blockaded the dauphin in Paris ; but when the hopes of Charles were almost extinguished, he was preserved by an unexpected peace with his rival on equal and moderate terms. Although this measure has generally been ascribed to the natural levity of the king of Navarre, yet the policy of that prince soon pointed out to him the improbability of his obtaining an effectual support from England ; his own pretensions to the crown clashed with those of Edward ; and he was sensible in any other expectations he should find it more difficult to negotiate with the haughty victor, than with his own kinsman, humbled by incessant misfortunes.

A. D. 1358. John, to regain his freedom, had subscribed a peace which restored to Edward all the provinces that had been possessed by Henry the Second and his two sons, and annexed them for ever to England without the obligation of homage or fealty. But these terms, which would have dismembered for ever his kingdom, were rejected by the dauphin and the states-general. The truce which had

had been concluded for two years, was now expired; and Edward cast anchor before Calais; with a fleet of eleven hundred sail; soon augmented his army to one hundred thousand men; and again assumed the title of king of France.

The dauphin, unable to withstand his enemy in the field, contented himself with putting the most considerable towns in a posture of defence, chose his station at Paris; and allowed the English to extend their ravages over the open country: They had already penetrated through Picardy into Champagne; and Edward, desirous of being crowned at Rheims, where that ceremony is usually performed, laid siege to the city. But the walls of Rheims were defended by the valour of the inhabitants, and the patriotic exhortations of the archbishop, John de Craon: After wasting his strength in the ineffectual enterprise during seven weeks, the king was obliged to retire. From Champagne, which was already desolated, he directed his march into Burgundy, and pillaged Tonerre, Gailon, and Avalon; but the duke of Burgundy redeemed his country from the impending ruin by the payment of one hundred thousand marks; a similar composition preserved Nivernois; and the king of England, after wasting, in a long and destructive march, that country, the sovereignty of which he claimed, appeared at the gates of Paris: The prudence of the dauphin had provided that city with magazines which defied the attacks of famine; it was equally secure by the number of its inhabitants from any enterprise in arms; and Charles, while he applauded his own policy; might safely deride the vain bravadoes of Edward, who repeatedly defied him to battle.

A. D. 1360. A dreadful tempest, to which the army of Edward was exposed in the fields round Chartres, is supposed to have inclined the mind of that

that monarch towards peace; But in the resolutions of the king of England we are to look for motives more characteristic than those of superstition. All his victories had not procured a single partizan to his claim of succession; the king of Navarre was his most dangerous rival; and the caution of the dauphin precluded him from the hopes of the same advantages as he had obtained in the fields of Crecy and Poitiers. Under these circumstances, conferences were opened between the French and English commissioners at Bretigny in the Chartraine, and the peace was at last concluded on the following conditions: That king John, as his ransom, should pay at different periods three millions of crowns of gold; that Edward should renounce all claim to the crown of France, and the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, l'Agénois, Perigord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rôvergue, l'Angoumois; with Calais, Guisne, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France. That these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be ceded to the crown of England free from fealty or homage; that the king of Navarre should be restored to his honours and estates; that Edward and John should mutually renounce their confederacy with the Flemings and Scots; that the houses of Blois and Mountfort should submit their pretensions to the arbitration of the two kings; and that forty hostages should be sent to England as a pledge for the faithful execution of these conditions; among these were two sons of the French king, John and Lewis; his brother, Philip, duke of Orleans, and many of the principal nobility of France.

The conclusion of the peace enabled John, after a captivity of four years, to revisit his capital; but the acclamations of his subjects must have only awakened a more poignant

A. D.
1360, 1363

nant anguish at the calamities which he beheld them endure through his imprudence : Large bands of military adventurers, who had followed the standard of Edward, refused to lay down their arms, and persevered in a life of military rapine ; they associated themselves under the name of Companions, and defeated the constable, James of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, who commanded an army of twelve thousand men. The rage of men was attended by that of heaven ; and in Paris alone thirty thousand persons were in one year the victims of a pestilential disorder. Amidst the miseries of his people, the mind of the king was oppressed by the immense ransom which he had agreed to pay for his freedom ; on Galeas, the son of John Visconti, duke of Milan, he bestowed the hand of his daughter ; and received from his new son-in-law the sum of six hundred thousand crowns. The Jews, who had been banished France, were, by similar arguments, permitted to return for the term of twenty years ; but the subjects of John beheld, with equal disgust the sordid barter of a princess whom they respected, and the restoration of a people whom they despised. Some satisfaction might arise to John on the important acquisition of Burgundy, which, on the death of Philip, the late duke, he claimed and wrested from the feeble attempts of the king of Navarre ; but he again imprudently dismembered it from the crown, by his partiality to his fourth and favourite son, Philip, whom he created duke of Burgundy, and first peer of France ; and who, by his marriage with the widow of his predecessor, afterwards attained the counties of Flanders and Artois, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house.

To relieve the anxiety of his mind, and confer with pope Innocent the Sixth, whose steady friendship he had experienced, John undertook a journey to Avignon. But this interview with the Roman pontiff

pontiff served only more strongly to display the fatal impetuosity which marks his character. While the wounds of his country were still fresh, while his people had yet scarce tasted the comforts of peace, he already contemplated new and distant wars; the barren laurels of Palestine were the objects of his restless ambition; and at the persuasion of Innocent, he assumed the cross, notwithstanding the remonstrances and intreaties of his nobility.

A. D. 1364. But the return of John to France was attended by new disappointments and mortifications; his subjects, and even the dauphin, loudly accused the ignominious terms which he had subscribed. His son, Lewis, count of Anjou, impatient of confinement, had escaped from Edward, whose hostage he was, and refused to return at the command of his father: The king himself was induced, by the numerous embarrassments which on every side presented themselves, to declare his intention of delivering himself again into the power of Edward. The dissuasions of his council, who advised him to elude a treaty which he could not, consistent with policy fulfil, were ineffectual; and his answer ought to be impressed on the mind of every sovereign, That though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breast of princes! He therefore crossed the seas; according to the superstition of the times, offered a valuable jewel at the shrine of Thomas a Becket; and was received at London with every mark of honourable respect. But it does not appear that his presence was, in any shape conducive to his interest; Edward received with cold disapprobation his proposal to join his intended expedition to the Holy Land; and John himself was soon recalled from his visionary hopes of eastern victories by the slow but certain progress of disease. A reign of incessant calamity, which had been impatiently endured

endured by his subjects for near fourteen years, was at length terminated in his lodgings in the Savoy, and in the capital of his enemy: He breathed his last in the fifty-sixth year of his age; his funeral was celebrated with splendid solemnity by the English, and honoured by the attendance of his rival, Edward. The corpse was afterwards conveyed to France, and interred with those of his predecessors in the abbey of St. Denis.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIV.

Accession of the Dauphin, Charles the Fifth, to the Throne of France.—The Count of Mountfort acquires the Duchy of Brittany.—Expedition of Du Guesclin.—Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, de-throned by the Arms of Du Guesclin, restored by the Prince of Wales.—Again defeated and put to Death by Henry of Translamare.—War between the French and English.—Death and Character of Charles the Fifth.

CHARLES the Fifth, who has already been frequently mentioned as dauphin and regent, succeeded to the throne of France; and by his prudence acquired and retained the honourable distinction of *Wise*. The king of Navarre, with his usual instability, had resumed his former enmity to that prince, and was now in arms in Normandy: The command of his forces was entrusted to the valour and capacity of the Captal of Buche, to whom Charles opposed Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, and one of the most accomplished characters of the age. In the battle of Chocherel, the Captal was defeated, and taken prisoner by the superior genius of his antagonist; and du Guesclin himself soon experienced the same fate in Brittany, where the war was renewed between the families of Mountfort and Blois: In an action at Auray, Charles of Blois was killed, at the same time that du Guesclin fell into the hands of the victors; but the prudence and moderation of Charles prevented this event from being attended with any fatal consequences; he admitted the claim of Mountfort, though a zealous partizan

A. D. 1364.

partizan of England, to the duchy, and received the proffered homage for his dominions; and while he thus reconciled an ancient enemy, he rewarded du Guesclin, who, in consequence of the treaty had regained his freedom, with the rank of marshal of Normandy.

By a similar liberality, the king had allured to his service Oliver de Clifson, and other Britons of military reputation; his discernment had long discovered, and his magnanimity induced him to esteem the talents of the Captal of Buche, who shone as a general and a statesman; he released him without ransom, and presented him with the county of Nemours. But the Captal, perceiving his new engagements disagreeable to the prince of Wales, determined to adhere to his former master, and restored to Charles his royal present. The generosity of Charles was imitated by his uncle, Philip, duke of Orleans; the distress of the king compelled him to think of resuming the grants of his predecessor; of these the duke of Orleans possessed the most considerable; but Philip declared, although he considered his title as good, yet, convinced of the rectitude of the king's intentions, he resigned them into his hands, and would be content with whatever he should think proper to assign him. The king accepted indeed the resignation, but unwilling to be vanquished in this generous contest, he alone accepted it, to confirm the grants more strongly.

But even the prudence of Charles was only in the course of revolving years, able
A. D. 1365.
to remedy the calamities in which the rashness of John had involved his country: The military adventurers described by the appellation of Companions, still ravaged France; they regarded with contempt the censures of the church: and they even rejected the authority of the king of England, who enraged at their insolence, offered to cross the seas to chastise

chastise them. But Charles was not desirous of the presence of so formidable a rival ; and he was content with coolly declining the proposal, and adding, that he himself had conceived a project which would deliver him from these dangerous inmates.

The storm which the king of France was not capable of resisting by force, he diverted by his policy, to spend its fury in a different quarter. Peter, king of Castile, was justly stigmatized by the epithet of *Cruel* ; his subjects, his nobles, and at last his wife, were the victims of his ferocious disposition. The latter, Blanch de Bourbon, was sister to the queen of France ; and he hesitated not, after throwing her into prison, to put an end to her life by poison, that he might espouse his mistress, Mary de Padilla.

A. D. 1366, 1367. Henry, count of Transmare, his natural brother, resolved to seek that security in arms which he was hopeless of from submission : He sought refuge in France ; and with the permission of Charles, and by the advice of du Guesclin, determined to employ the daring bands of Companions in the destruction of the tyrant. The abilities of du Guesclin were the means of securing these adventurers ; he remonstrated to the leaders (by many of whom he was already beloved as the former associate of their military toils) on the ignominy of their life, and the dishonourable subsistence which they drew from plunder and rapine, to the plea of necessity he opposed an honourable expedition, which promised equal advantages with their present desultory incursions. The chiefs of the Companions consented to enlist under his standard, so high was their confidence in his honour, though ignorant of the enterprise he meditated, with the single stipulation, that they should not be led against the prince of Wales. The silent acquiescence at least, if not the open concurrence, of Edward was obtained ;

obtained; and Charles contributed what little he could spare from his slender coffers, to complete and hasten the preparations.

Du Guesclin joined the martial band at Chalons, on the Soane; and first conducted them to Avignon, the residence of the Roman pontiff. From Innocent the Sixth he demanded an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first was instantly granted; but the second request was received with hesitation. When complied with, the pious successor of St. Peter extorted the money from the inhabitants of Avignon: But the generous du Guesclin refused to trample on the oppressed: "It is not my purpose," cried the humane warrior, "to injure those innocent people; the pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners; and should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope submitted to the peremptory language of du Guesclin, and the success of his first negotiation was rivalled by that of his arms.

The inhabitants of Castile joined the standard of Henry of Trastamare: and the tyrant, justly odious and generally deserted, fled from the indignation of his subjects, and sought refuge in Guienne. The sentiments of the prince of Wales were already changed; he regarded the fallen monarch with compassion, and dreaded the powerful confederate that France might acquire in the new king of Castile. He determined to restore Peter, and after levying, with incredible diligence, a numerous army, he recalled the Companions from the support of Henry. Most of these obeyed a voice which they were accustomed to reverence; yet Henry, beloved by his new subjects, and reinforced by the king of Arragon,

gon, beheld himself at the head of one hundred thousand men. Du Guesclin, and the most experienced of the generals, endeavoured to dissuade him from hazarding an action with Edward, whose former success had inspired his troops with confidence and his enemies with terror. But Henry trusted to his numbers, which trebled those of his adversary; and he ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara. The host of Henry was routed, with the loss of twenty thousand men! du Guesclin himself was taken prisoner; while only four knights and forty privates perished on the part of Edward.

Castile immediately submitted to the victor, and Peter was once more seated on the throne. But the satisfaction which the prince of Wales experienced in the success of this perilous enterprise was soon alloyed by the ingratitude of the tyrant, who refused the pay which he had stipulated to the English forces; while Edward returned to Guienne with his army diminished, and his own constitution fatally impaired by the noxious climate.

But Charles was not deterred by the late reverse of fortune which his ally had experienced, from hoping a more auspicious event. The ferocious temper of Peter had been heightened by his former exile and his present prosperity; he considered and he treated his subjects as vanquished rebels. That Henry of Transamare might avail himself of the general discontent, the king of France furnished him with whatever sums he could possibly spare, and at the same time he paid the ransom of du Guesclin. Some forces were privately levied in France; and the moment they entered the territories of Castile, they were swelled to a host by the indignation of the natives. Henry found himself again on the throne which he had so lately quitted; his justice, or his policy, extinguished with life the unceasing animosity of Peter, whose claims still survived in his eldest daughter,
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the second wife of the duke of Lancaster, the younger brother of the prince of Wales.

But a more profitable harvest soon presented itself to the vigilance and industry of Charles. Edward, in his late expedition, had involved himself in debts, which compelled him to impose a new tax on his principality. A sickle people soon complained that their privileges were violated; their national hatred to the English, which had been assuaged by the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales, was revived; and their hopes and inclinations were directed to Charles, whose regulations and moderation had restored the credit of his kingdom, and attached to him the confidence of the neighbouring princes. The king of France, by the treaty of Bretigny, had renounced all claim of fealty over those provinces which were appropriated to the crown of England: But treaties seldom bind princes longer than is consistent with their interest. Charles affected to listen to the complaints of the deputies of Guienne, and at length summoned Edward to appear at his court at Paris, and justify his proceedings against his vassals. The answer of Edward was suggested by the memory of his former victories: "I will come indeed to Paris," replied the prince; "but it shall be at the head of sixty thousand men."

The preparations of the king of France had been silently but diligently completed; and while his adversary yet doubted whether he would presume to venture on open hostilities, he had already entered into the county of Ponthieu. The cities of Abbeville, St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, readily received him; and the whole country, in a short time, acknowledged his authority. The southern provinces were invaded by the dukes of Berri and Anjou, the brothers of Charles, guided by the experience of du Guesclin, who

A. D.
1369. 1372.

who was recalled from Spain, and had received the sword of Constable. The progress of the French became every day more and more considerable; lord Chandos, an English general of the highest military reputation, fell in a skirmish; he was succeeded in command by the Captal of Cuche, who was soon after taken prisoner in an unsuccessful action. Sir Robert Knolles had indeed ravaged Champagne, and advanced with a body of English forces into the neighbourhood of Paris; but his progress was checked by the presence and skill of Du Guesclin; while the king of Navarre, sensible of the prudence of Charles, reconciled himself, and concluded a treaty with his royal kinsman; and Henry of Castile repaid the friendship which had placed him on the throne, by the aid of a fleet, which defeated that of England, and intercepted the destined succours, in sight of the port of Rochelle.

The prince of Wales, debilitated by the rapid advances of disease, and unable to mount on horseback, made only some ineffectual attempts to stem the torrent. After recovering Limoges, and chastising the levity or treachery of the inhabitants by the slaughter of great part of them, he returned feeble and depressed to England, and committed the war to the conduct of his generals. Poitiers, St. John de Angeli, Taillebourg, and Angouleme, the effects of the victory of Crecy, opened their gates to the constable of France; and Rochelle was restored to Charles by a stratagem of the mayor, who availed himself of the ignorance of the captain who commanded the English garrison. The king of England had himself embarked with a gallant army to succour the remnant of his forces in France, invested in Thouars, and which had engaged to surrender, unless relieved within a certain time; but the elements themselves warred in favour of Charles,

and

and Edward was detained by contrary winds till the term which had been fixed had elapsed. With difficulty in a tempestuous sea, he regained the English coast, and abandoned the gallant companions of his former toils to their fate.

The duke of Brittany had, in a second marriage, espoused the daughter of the king of England, and amidst this storm of adversity maintained inviolate his connexions with that crown. He was now summoned by the king of France to attend him as a vassal. With du Guesclin and Oliver Clifton, Charles had already allured to his service the Bretons whose abilities he had most reason to dread; and the duke, on this emergency, beheld himself destitute of generals or ministers in whom he could confide. On one side, the constable; on the other, Oliver Clifton, invaded the country; and Mountfort, after distributing the English forces in the most important towns, retired to the court of Edward. The pride of the English monarch was wounded by the exile of his son-in-law; he enabled the duke to cross the seas with an army of twenty-five thousand men, commanded by his son, the duke of Lancaster. That prince, impatient to rival the fame of his elder brother, traversed the length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux. But Charles was not to be provoked from the prudent system which he had embraced by the insults of an enemy, or the destruction of the country; and the duke of Lancaster, continually harassed by flying parties, and the enmity of the inhabitants, without being able to compel the French to a decisive action, or obtain any solid advantage, found his forces diminished above one half before he reached the gates of Bourdeaux.

The Roman pontiff, Innocent the Sixth, still offered his mediation to reconcile the contending monarchs; but although they

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rejected

rejected the proposals of peace, their mutual distress induced them to consent to a truce for two years. Both their kingdoms were desolated by the impartial ravages of pestilence; and the pride of Edward, which had been inflamed by prosperity, was now humbled by the loss of almost all his ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and all his conquests, except Calais. Yet, even amidst their common embarrassments, they were equally industrious to keep alive the sparks of discord, by silently passing over Brittany. But the policy of Charles, in this instance, failed him; the duke of Brittany, still assisted by the English, overwhelmed his opponents, commanded by Oliver Clifton; and they were only preserved from the vengeance of their prince by a second truce for a year, concluded at Bruges, in which Brittany was included.

A. D. 1375, 1377. These intervals from war had been assiduously employed by the king of France to restore order and tranquillity to the provinces from which they had been so long banished; at the same time, by an edict, which he caused to be registered in parliament, he fixed the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into the fourteenth year, contrary to the regulation of Philip the Hardy, which continued their minority till they had attained fourteen complete. About this time the prince of Wales, so long the scourge of the race of Valois, expired of a lingering disorder. Within the space of a year, his father Edward, having survived the expiration of the truce little more than a month, breathed his last. The minority of his grandson, only eleven years old, left Du Guesclin to pursue an almost undisputed conquest; and the scattered remnant in France which yet had retained its allegiance to England, was entirely overwhelmed, except

except Bavonne, Bourdeaux, and Calais, with its dependencies.

The king of France had the honour this year to receive in his capital the emperor, Charles the Fourth, and his son Wenceslaus, king of the Romans. But amidst scenes of luxury and magnificence, the prudence and vigilance of the French monarch were not lulled asleep, and he commenced his famous process against the king of Navarre, for an attempt to poison him. Several of his associates suffered in the course of this enquiry; and the king of Navarre himself was deprived of his possessions in Normandy, and his lordship of Montpellier, which he had obtained in return for his claims on the counties of Champagne and Brie, and the duchy of Burgundy. Encouraged by this success, Charles now turned his attention to the duchy of Brittany, which he was desirous again to annex to the crown. The duke was attainted of felony by the parliament of Paris; his duchy was declared to be forfeited; while the pretensions of the widow of Charles of Blois, and his children, were rejected with contempt: But the expectations of the king of France were on this occasion blasted by the jealousy of his own nobility, and by the general indignation of the Bretons. These crowded to the standard of their prince, and even the constable, du Guesclin, refused to bear arms against his native country. These obstacles induced Charles to listen to the language of accommodation; while the English had availed themselves of the division to recover some places in Guienne: against these the aged constable buckled on his armour with the alacrity of youth; the revolted towns were reduced to capitulate; and the castle of Chateaufort de Randan had fixed a day to surrender, unless relieved. On the morning of that day the constable expired, full of years and glory; but the English governor faithfully

A. D.

1378, 1380.

executed the agreement, and laid the keys of the castle at the feet of the corpse of the victor.

A. D. 1380.

Charles himself survived not long his general; after having established the precarious throne of the house of Valois, he yielded, in the prime of his age, to the premature attack of death. All historians agree in ascribing his early death to the effects of the poison which had been administered to him when dauphin, by the king of Navarre, who himself, about six years afterwards, perished by a death equally singular and deplorable: Some bandages of linen steeped in sulphur and brandy, in which he had been wrapped for the cure of the leprosy, catching fire from the carelessness of a page.

The immediate consequences of the noxious draught had been delayed by a physician sent to the king of France by the emperor, Charles the Fourth, who diminished the mortal tendency of the venom by opening an issue in his arm; but he at the same time declared, that whenever the issue was closed, the fate of Charles was instantly determined. His prediction was verified; and the king, sensible of his approaching end, met it with decent fortitude. His last advice to the dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon, was to bestow the constable's sword on Oliver Clisson; to strengthen the alliance with Germany by marrying his son and successor to a princess of that country; and to deliver the people as soon as possible from the burthen of taxes which necessity had compelled him to impose.

At the age of forty-four, Charles the Fifth was snatched from the service of his country, when his experience and abilities might have proved most beneficial to it. Death had previously deprived him of his queen, Jane, daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, an accomplished and virtuous princess, in whom he intended to vest the regency.

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Du Guesclin also, from whose valour the state had derived such advantages, was no more. The last moments of the dying monarch were clouded by the gloomy prospect which presented itself; but although his sagacity might foresee, his ability could not avert, the evils which threatened the kingdom; and his successor was left without experience, and almost without a pilot, to steer the vessel of the state through a dangerous and tempestuous sea.

C H A P. XV.

The Duke of Anjou appointed Regent during the Minority of Charles the Sixth.—Unsuccessful Expedition against Naples.—Majority of Charles the Sixth.—Marches against the Duke of Brittany.—Is seized with Insanity near Mans.—Disorders which ensue.—Revolution in England.—Assassination of the Duke of Orleans.—State of Anarchy in France.

ON the death of his father, Charles the Sixth, on whom was bestowed the appellation of *Well-beloved*, was only twelve years old; and the late king had nominated his eldest brother, the duke of Anjou, as the guardian of his nephew, till he attained the age appointed for taking the reins of government into his own hands. The first care of his new regent was to assume the power of this important trust; but he seems throughout totally indifferent to the duties of the charge. Distinguished only by unbounded rapacity and inordinate ambition, he readily resigned the education of the king, to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; the former his uncle by his father's, the latter by his mother's side; While the duke of Berri, the third son of John

John the Good, was eclipsed by the superior power and talents of his competitors.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, was the youngest of the sons of John, and had distinguished his early valour by the side of his father in the unfortunate battle of Poitiers. To reward his courage and constancy, that monarch bestowed upon him the duchy of Burgundy; and Philip afterwards encreased his prospect of dominion by his own nuptials with the daughter of the count of Flanders; and the marriage of his son with Margaret, daughter of Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault and Holland.

The first care of these princes was the coronation of the young king, which was performed with great splendor at Rheims; The sword of constable was given, according to the desire of Charles the Fifth, to Oliver Clifton; but the duke of Anjou soon betrayed the confidence which had been reposed in him; and lost to honour and integrity, seized, in the castle of Melun, the plate and treasures of the late king, to support his own ambitious enterprizes. Joan, rendered immortal by the profligacy of her character, and who was descended from Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Lewis, reigned at this time at Naples. She had already adopted her relation, Charles Durazzo, as her successor; but the inhuman Neapolitan deposed and murdered his benefactress; whose last breath revoked the nomination, and declared the duke of Anjou the heir to her throne. To support the wild pretensions of that prince, the treasures of France were scattered with a lavish hand; but his troops were defeated, and his designs continually baffled, by the superior skill and artifices of his adversary; and the duke of Anjou discovered too late that he had sacrificed his honour without gratifying his ambition.

The conduct of the duke of Burgundy was equally to be arraigned: Instead of training the mind of his
royal

royal pupil to the pursuit of virtue and greatness, he indulged him in every description of pleasure and excess; and sought to secure his affections by gratifying the licentious passions of youth. The acquiescence of the duke of Berri was purchased by the restoration of the county of Languedoc, which by Charles the Fifth had, on account of his oppressive conduct, been transferred to the count of Foix; while the citizens of Paris, oppressed by new taxes, broke out into open sedition, and were with difficulty quelled by some of the more substantial inhabitants, who dreaded, amidst the tumult, lest their property should become the prey of the insurgents.

A peace had been concluded indeed with the duke of Brittany; but Philip of Burgundy, who on the departure of the duke of Anjou for Naples had assumed the sole administration, soon involved the kingdom in more serious hostilities with the Flemings. These, enraged at the daily impost with which they were burthened to supply the luxury and prodigality of their count, had erected the standard of revolt, and chosen as their leader Philip, the son of James d'Arteville, the famous brewer of Ghent. The son degenerated not from the abilities of his father; bold in action, eloquent in council, penetrating and enterprising, he prepared his adherents to encounter with resolution the storm which menaced them. At the head of near fourscore thousand men, animated by the presence of their youthful monarch, the duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, and the principal nobility of France, invaded Flanders, to restore the authority of the exiled count. But these splendid preparations seemed for some time to portend only disappointment; and the operations of war were at first favourable to the Flemings. A considerable detachment of the French were routed in an ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Oudenarde; and the king might have

have been exposed to the disgrace of a fruitless campaign, had not the imprudent ardour of Arteville induced him to hazard a decisive action near the village of Rosebecque. On the banks of the Lys the hopes of the Flemings were extinguished by the valour and discipline of the French; twenty-five thousand of the insurgents perished on the field; and among these was their leader Arteville. Oudenarde was immediately relieved; Courtrai, the chief seat of revolt, surrendered; and the turbulent Flemings were once more reduced to submission by the arms of France.

A. D.
1384, 1390. The satisfaction of the king at this victory was alloyed by fresh tumults at Paris; but the sickle citizens were soon humbled by the return of their sovereign at the head of a triumphant army. Several of the great towns, which had partaken in the guilt, were included in the punishment of the capital; while the death of the count of Flanders annexed that country, with the provinces of Artois, Revel, and Nevers, to the possessions of the duke of Burgundy. About the same time the duke of Anjou, overwhelmed by the calamities of his Italian expedition, expired at Barr, in Calabria; and the king of France, delivered from the immediate controul of two of his uncles, began to assume the reins of government, and discovered symptoms of genius and spirit which revived the drooping hopes of his country. His marriage had already engrossed the attention of his council; but Charles refused to sacrifice his domestic happiness to the forms which had bound his predecessors; and declared his resolution previously to behold the person intended for his consort. An interview was contrived for him at Amiens with Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and the insinuating address and personal charms of that princess, fatally determined his choice in her favour.

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The understanding of the king, though uncultivated, appears to be clear and manly: He again deprived his uncle, the duke of Berri, of the government of Languedoc, which he continued to abuse; and conciliated the affections of his people, by restoring their privileges, and relieving them from the vexatious taxes which a minority had imposed. He reduced the Flemings to acknowledge the authority of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, which at first they had opposed; he detached John de Vienne, with fifteen hundred men at arms, to reinforce the Scotch in their incursions against the English; and encouraged by the disorders against the English government, and by the feeble character of Richard the Second, he prepared a prodigious fleet at Sluys to invade that kingdom, in hopes of recovering Calais, in exchange for the conquest he might make in England. But this enterprise was defeated by the indolence and obstinacy of the duke of Berri; a majority of the ships were lost in a storm; and the advanced state of the season compelled the king, though reluctantly, to abandon the immediate execution of his designs. A truce was soon after concluded between the two kingdoms, for the space of three years; and before it expired England was preserved from the menaced danger, and France plunged into more deep and fatal calamities, by an incident the most extraordinary and deplorable.

The *Sieur de Craon*, a profligate nobleman, had been entrusted by the court of France with a considerable sum of money, for the support of the duke of Anjou, reduced to distress by his Italian expedition. He had betrayed the confidence which had been thus reposed in him; and dissipated the money in his licentious pleasures at Venice. By the credit of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, he obtained his pardon, and returned to court, to abuse the clemency of his sovereign by an act of more atrocious treachery. To gratify his private resentment, he attempted to
A. D. 1390. 1391.
 assassinate

assassinate the constable, Oliver Clifton, whom he suspected of having promoted his disgrace. The veteran hero was attacked as he returned from the hotel of St. Pol, by twenty ruffians; and although he defended himself with his wonted intrepidity, he at length fell, from the loss of blood and the number of his wounds. The goodness of his constitution triumphed over the bloody malice of his assailants, while Craon fled from the vengeance of his incensed sovereign to the protection of the duke of Brittany.

Charles demanded the criminal; and on the refusal of the duke, prepared to compel him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the dukes of Burgundy and Berri, at the head of a numerous army. Accompanied by these princes, he had scarce arrived at Mans before he was seized with a slow fever; but his impatience to punish the crime of Craon, and the contempt of the duke of Brittany, induced him to resist the advice of his physicians, and to continue his march. As he passed through a forest between Mans and La Fleche, in the heat of the day, the bridle of his horse was suddenly seized by a man in wretched apparel, black and hideous; who exclaimed, "My king, where are you going? you are betrayed!" and then instantly disappeared. At that moment, a page who carried the king's lance, and who under the pressure of fatigue had fallen asleep, let fall the lance on a helmet which another page carried before him. This noise, with the sudden appearance and exclamation of the man, concurred to produce an immediate and fatal effect on the king's imagination. He drew his sword, and struck furiously on every side; three persons, besides the page who dropped the lance, were the victims of his phrenzy; at length he was disarmed and secured. The violence of the effort had exhausted his strength; and he was conveyed, senseless and motionless to Mans.

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This account, strange and improbable, is yet supported by the united testimonies of contemporary historians. Probably, the mind of the king, being oppressed by indisposition, presented to his fancy the ideal figure, the source of his terror: probably the duke of Burgundy used this artifice to fright him from an expedition; from which he had endeavoured ineffectually to dissuade. But whatever was the cause of Charles's delirium, the consequences were melancholy. The invasion of Brittany was immediately abandoned; the king was reconducted to Paris; and expressed, on the recovery of his senses, his horror at the blood which had been thus unknowingly spilt.

During the three days that his delirium had lasted, the grief of his people proclaimed the blameless tenor of his administration: The intelligence of his recovery was welcomed by marks of unfeigned and unbounded transport; but it was soon discovered that he no longer possessed that clear comprehension and strength of judgment, which had formerly characterized him. The doubtful state of his intellects rendered it necessary that the royal power should be vested in more able hands; and the competition for the regency brought forward two characters which hitherto had been concealed from public observation. Isabella, the consort of the unfortunate monarch, has already been celebrated for her uncommon beauty and insinuating address: But these qualities were alloyed by a mind violent, vindictive and intriguing; by a heart insensible to the natural affections of a parent, but open to flattery, and susceptible of the impression of every lawless passion. The duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, had but just entered his twentieth year; his person was graceful, his features animated, and he was by nature and education formed to succeed in gallantry; his early marriage with Valentina, the daughter of the duke

of

of Milan, a princess of extraordinary charms and accomplishments, did not prevent him from engaging in a variety of licentious amours; and his intimacy with his royal sister-in-law was abhorred as criminal and incestuous. Profuse and prodigal, his hopes were inflamed by the partiality of the queen; and he openly aspired to the regency; But the states regarded him with prudent distrust; and conferred the administration of affairs on the more mature years of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. Oliver Clifton, persecuted by that prince, and deprived of the sword of constable, which was bestowed on the count of Eu, retired into his native province, defended his possessions in that country by his own valour and that of his vassals, and at length effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany.

A few months seemed to restore the health and understanding of the wretched Charles, when an accident scarce less extraordinary than the first, plunged him into his former phrenzy. An entertainment had been given in honour of the marriage of one of the queen's attendants; and six masques entered the apartment, disguised like satyrs, in dresses made of linen, covered with rosin, and while warm powdered with down; These were the king and five lords of the court. The person of Charles attracted the notice of the duchess of Berri; and although ignorant who he was, she engaged him in conversation. In the mean time the duke of Orleans, out of levity, run a lighted torch against one of the party; the flame was instantly communicated to the rest; and amidst their torments, they repeatedly cried out, "Save the king! Save the king!" The duchess of Berri, recollecting that it must be the masque with whom she had been conversing, wrapped him in her cloak, and preserved him from the danger. One escaped by jumping into a cistern of water; but the other four perished in the greatest agonies.

agonies. The terror of the king was attended by an instant relapse ; and the unhappy delirium continued, though with some intervals of reason, to the last moments of his life.

In his most distracted state, Valentina, duchess of Orleans, gained the same ascendancy over the mind of Charles, as her consort had acquired over that of the queen. She alone was grateful to him ; and she only could sooth by her presence the fury which frequently convulsed his frame. An ignorant and superstitious age attributed her influence to magical incantations ; but insanity itself is not insensible to the power of beauty ; and the enmity of her rivals pursued the authority which she had attained by her superior charms. The duchess of Burgundy in particular distinguished herself by an implacable hatred ; and the quarrels of these ladies were soon extended to, and perpetuated by, their husbands. Yet their own prudence suggested to them to court the people by restraining within proper bounds the public expenditure ; and to conciliate the affections of the parliament, by preserving inviolate the rights and privileges of the Commons. Among other regulations which marked their administration, was one which, though ineffectual, does credit to their intentions, and will meet the applause of modern times. They endeavoured by wholesome penalties to check the rage for gaming, which already began to appear, and to substitute martial and manly exercises in its place.

This year a schism broke out in the court of Rome, which for forty successive years distracted its councils, and divided the opinions of its followers. For some time past the popes had resided at Avignon ; but Gregory the Eleventh had been persuaded to return to Rome and expired there. The Romans, suspicious lest the seat of the papacy should be transferred again to Avignon, tumultuously

A. D. 1394.

tumultuously surrounded the conclave, and compelled the electors to raise to the vacant chair of St. Peter, Urban the Sixth, by birth an Italian: But the majority of cardinals, who were French, no sooner had recovered their liberty, than they fled from Rome, protested against the election as the effects of compulsion, and chose Robert, son of the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement the Seventh, and established his residence at Avignon. The different kingdoms of Christendom were divided between the two pontiffs; and France, after an ineffectual effort to compose the difference, adhered, with her allies of Castile and Scotland, to the cause of Clement; while England declared for Urban. Each party was described by the different appellations of *Clementines* and *Urbanites*; and each mutually branded the other with the opprobrious term of Schismatics, and rebels to the true successor of St. Peter.

A. D. 1396. In the intervals of recovery, Charles frequently resumed his authority. The war between the French and English had been carried on with languor, and the two kings equally tired of these fruitless hostilities, began to think in earnest of a lasting peace. An interview for this purpose was appointed near Calais; but they found their pretensions still so difficult to adjust, that they were content to establish a truce for twenty-five years. Charles prevailed on Richard the Second to restore Cherbourg to France, and Brest to the duke of Brittany. To draw the bands of amity between the two monarchs still closer, Richard, now a widower was contracted to Isabella, the daughter of Charles, a princess then only seven years of age. But this marriage, from which the king of England hoped to derive some protection against the ambition of his uncles and the turbulence of his barons, was never

never consummated, on account of the inequality of their years.

Sigismond, king of Hungary, had implored the assistance of France, to check the rapid progress of Bajazet, the sultan of the Ottomans, who had already swept away whatever adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. To the defence of Hungary marched the flower of chivalry, animated by the presence of John, count of Nevers, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy; the count of Eu, constable; John de Vienné, admiral of France; and the count of Marche, a peer of the blood royal. The ardour of these gallant princes was tempered by the experience of de Courcy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom. But in the day of action they rejected his prudent counsels, and the moderate advice of Sigismond. On the approach of the Turks, at the head of their martial train, which scarce exceeded a thousand knights and esquires, just risen from the pleasures of the table, and heated with wine, they charged the vanguard of the infidels with inconsiderate valour. Their presumption was fatal to themselves, and to the cause of Sigismond: In the plains of Nicopolis they were deserted by the Hungarians, and overwhelmed by myriads of the Ottomans. The count of Nevers, and twenty-four other lords, whose birth promised the advantage of a splendid ransom, were preserved by the avarice of Bajazet; the remainder of the French captives were successively led before the throne; and as they refused to abjure their faith, were beheaded in the presence of the sultan, exasperated by the loss of his bravest janizaries. The survivors were a long time confined at Bourssa, the royal residence of the victor; and were at length ransomed for the sum of two hundred thousand ducats.

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A. D. 1397, 1398. The relapses of Charles became every day more violent; the fatal effects of his former phrenzy were indelibly impressed on his mind; and one day, sensible of the rapid approach of his delirium, he called to the duke of Burgundy to disarm him, lest again he should injure any of his subjects. About this time the ancient adversary of France and ally of England, John, duke of Brittany, expired; and bequeathed his children to the protection of Oliver Clifton, whose honourable enmity he had so frequently experienced, and whose friendship he had so lately cultivated. Clifton proved himself worthy of the confidence of his master; at that prince's decease he was confined to his bed; and his daughter, the Countess of Penthievre, who had married the competitor of the late duke, proposed to her father to seize the favourable moment, and to restore the duchy to her children. The soul of Clifton was incapable of treachery; and the feelings of the parent were lost in indignation. He darted a javelin, which stood at his bed's head, at his daughter: The countess, in endeavouring to escape, fell down stairs; her thigh was broken; and her lameness ever after attested her own disgrace and the unshaken fidelity of her father.

A. D. 1399. In England a different and more turbulent scene presented itself. The weakness and dissipation of Richard the Second had nourished the ambition of his nobles; and the duke of Hereford, the son of the duke of Lancaster, and the cousin of the king, was distinguished above the rest by the formidable qualities of courage, of prudence, and of insinuating address. Banished by the king for his intrigues, during his absence, the title of Lancaster devolved on him by the death of his father. The profusion of the king rendered it necessary for him to replenish his coffers by means the most inconsistent

inconsistent with justice; and he seized to his own use, contrary to his royal word, the inheritance of his exiled kinsman. Henry of Lancaster was connected with the principal nobility in blood, alliance, or friendship: These considered the injury in its consequences as likely to affect them all: The common people were already gained by his courteous manners; and the different ranks of the English turned their eyes upon him, as the only person who could retrieve the honour of the nation, or redress the abuses of government.

Richard had himself embarked for Ireland, to chastise the revolt of the natives; and left his kingdom open to the enterprises of his ambitious enemy; when the duke of Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with a train of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Arundel, the nephew of that prelate. They were immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; the spirit of disaffection, in a few days march, swelled the army of Henry to sixty thousand men. The duke of York, who had been left regent of the realm, was equally disqualified by his slender capacity and natural connexions, from checking the progress of his nephew; who yet only claimed, as a loyal suppliant, his legal patrimony. But the king himself, on the news of this formidable invasion, and the additional intelligence that several of his ministers had fallen victims to the wishes of the people and the authority of Henry, hastened from Ireland. At Milford Haven he disembarked an army of twenty thousand men; but these soon caught the general contagion, and deserted their unfortunate sovereign. Richard, hopeless of succour, surrendered himself to the earl of Northumberland, was conveyed to London, and was deposed by the tumultuous clamours of his subjects and the irregular decision of a partial and factious parliament.

parliament. His successful kinsman, the duke of Lancaster, was raised to the vacant throne; and soon extinguished, by the death of his former sovereign, his apprehensions from the compassion of a fickle and generous people.

A. D. 1400, 1403. Wenceslaus, emperor of Germany, had implored the assistance of France to restore him to that dignity of which he had been deprived by the electors; and Manuel Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople, appeared a suppliant at Paris, to arouse again the ardour of the French to the encounter of Bajazet, and the defence of the imperial city. To the aid of Wenceslaus, the duke of Orleans led a gallant army; acquired for himself the duchy of Luxemburgh; and left his ally satisfied with the kingdom of Bohemia: while the arms of Bajazet were diverted from Europe by the invasion of Tamerlane, the Mogul emperor; and Paleologus was left at liberty to return and occupy Constantinople. But although foreign empires sought the succour and support of France, the internal government of that kingdom presented a picture of frightful anarchy and confusion. The unhappy malady of Charles seemed daily to gain ground; and the discordant interests and contending parties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, grew up into factions of the most rancorous and inveterate animosity. The former, by his own dominion over the affections of the queen, and by the influence of his duchess over the king, gained a transient superiority, and obtained a commission which created him lieutenant-general and governor of the realm: But he abused his power to levy new imposts upon the people; and his imprudence even included the church in the impartial oppression. A burst of general resentment drove him from the helm, and called to it the duke of Burgundy. The passions of these haughty and ambitious chiefs might perhaps have instantly kindled the

the flames of civil war, had not their rage been in some measure appeased by the mediation of the duke of Bourbon, the only prince who approached the throne, and maintained a character pure and unspotted.

Yet some praise must be allowed to the policy of the duke of Burgundy, which allured to Paris the youthful sons of the late duke of Brittany, and preserved them from being seduced by the arts of Henry the Fourth of England, who had married their mother to strengthen his interest in that province. Perhaps his life might have shielded France from the calamities which overwhelmed it: His premature death, at this critical period, exposed it, without chart or pilot, to the fury of the storm. He was succeeded in his dominions by his son John, count of Nevers, surnamed the *Fearless*, and who inherited the enmity of his father to the duke of Orleans, without possessing his judgment or apparent moderation.

A. D. 1404.

The queen and the duke of Orleans had again seized the administration: They were again driven from it by the virtuous clamours of a people, who regarded their intimacy with honest indignation. While their respective courts had been maintained in luxury and magnificence, the unhappy Charles and his children had been abandoned to the most abject distress. They were relieved and treated with respect and attention by the duke of Burgundy, who was nominated by the general voice of the public to the regency, on the retreat of Isabella and the duke of Orleans to Melun: When suddenly the king seemed to emerge from the darkness which had so long obscured his understanding; his reason returned for a longer interval; he deprived the rival dukes of the authority which they had alternately enjoyed, and alternately abused;

A. D. 1404.

and vested the entire government in the queen and a council of state composed of princes of the blood.

A. D. 1406. The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, alike precluded from interfering in the cabinet, determined to exercise their restless tempers in martial enterprises against the English. They were encouraged by the unsettled situation of Henry the Fourth, continually assailed by secret conspiracies and open rebellions. But the invasion of Guienne and the attempt on Calais proved equally unsuccessful; and the ministers of Charles, after obtaining the restoration of his daughter, who had been contracted to Richard the Second, consented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms. The failure of their different expeditions rekindled the animosity of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and they mutually attributed their disappointments to each other. At the intreaties of the duke of Berri they consented to a reconciliation; they embraced at Paris, in the presence of their uncle; and even vowed on the sacrament, to bury in oblivion the remembrance of former enmity.

A. D. 1407. But these solemn pledges of friendship were prostituted by the duke of Burgundy more easily to satiate his vengeance. A contention for power was inflamed by the rage of jealousy; and he suspected the duke of Orleans, whose character for gallantry was notorious, of having violated the honour of his marriage bed. The injury was mortal; but the means which he pursued to obtain his revenge were unworthy of his former fame. As the duke of Orleans returned in the dark from the hotel of St. Pol, where he had passed the evening with the queen, mounted on a mule, and only accompanied by two pages, he was suddenly attacked by eighteen assassins, headed by a Norman gentleman whom he had deprived of an employment. With the first blow of a battle-axe he cut off the duke's hand; at the

the second he struck him from his mule ; and with the third he clove his skull, leaving him dead on the ground.

The duke of Burgundy at first affected to lament the death of his noble kinsman with well dissembled sorrow ; he appeared at his funeral ; and his sighs were even accompanied by tears. But when it was proposed, at the request of the provost of Paris, to search the houses of the different princes, his countenance betrayed the guilty secret. Conscious of his danger, to the duke of Bourbon he acknowledged himself the author of the bloody deed ; and, with his band of assassins, he eluded the immediate sword of justice by a precipitate flight into Flanders. Valentina, the widow of the late duke of Orleans, oppressed by grief, soon followed her husband to the grave ; but her son, though only sixteen years of age, and who succeeded to his father's honours, loudly demanded vengeance on the murderer. The kingdom was rent between the two factions, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs ; for so the adherents of the duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, the father-in-law of that prince. The chief of the former had, at the head of a numerous army, returned to the capital, and extorted a pardon from the feeble king, who seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority ; and some idea may be formed of the rage which desolated the kingdom, since in Paris only two thousand citizens perished in one commotion.

The misery of France scarce seemed to admit of any addition, when the calamities of internal discord, which almost bowed the monarchy to the ground, were unexpectedly augmented by the fury of foreign invasion. The pretensions which had dyed with blood the fields of Crecy and Poitiers, were again revived by the crown of England : And

to a warlike prince, already wreathed with victory, and early educated in fields of battle, France could only oppose an insane king; an inexperienced dauphin, whose character, fickle, inconstant and dissolute, accumulated the evils of the state; and a nobility divided in principle, and pursuing each other with active enmity and unabated rage.

CHAPTER

C H A P. XVI.

Invasion of France by Henry the Fifth, King of England.—Battle of Azincourt.—Dissensions between the Dauphin Charles and the Duke of Burgundy.—Progress of the English.—Assassination of the duke of Burgundy.—Henry espouses Catharine, daughter to the King of France, and is declared Regent and Heir of that Kingdom.—Deaths of the Kings of England and France.

THE crown of England, which Henry A. D. 1415.
the Fourth acquired by rebellion, and
which he stained by the murder of the prince whom
he deposed, he preserved by his policy and valour.
His son Henry the Fifth inherited it by a purer title;
and it was the advice of his dying father to divert the
restless spirits of the English from intestine commo-
tions to foreign wars. The dissensions of France
presented a favourable opportunity; the new mo-
narch was scarce established on his throne before all
England resounded with his preparations; and the
ministers of Charles were astonished at the demand,
as the price of peace, of Catharine, the French
king's daughter, in marriage; two millions of
crowns, as her portion; one million six hundred
thousand, as the arrears of king John's ransom; and
the

the immediate possession and full sovereignty of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus, together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders.

A short interval of reason had allowed the king at this period to resume the reins of government ; and he had displayed a transient vigour in repressing the faction of the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and compelling them to submit to the terms that he prescribed. But his council, conscious how little dependence could be placed on the present calm, were willing to avert the storm which threatened them from abroad. Instead of rejecting these exorbitant demands with contempt, they offered to Henry the princess Catharine, with a portion of eight thousand crowns ; the entire sovereignty of Guienne ; and to annex to that province the countries of Perigord, Rovergue, Saintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. But the negociation of the king of England had never been serious ; the minds of his subjects could only be diverted from the means by which his father had acquired the crown by an invasion of France ; he rejected these conditions, continued his preparations for war, and assembled a formidable armament at the port of Southampton.

That wealth with which the ministers of France had endeavoured to purchase peace, they employed to foment the discontents of the subjects of Henry, and allured several of his nobility into a conspiracy against their sovereign. But their treason was discovered, and their dark designs proved only fatal to themselves : while France, at the moment that she depended on the success of her intrigues, was alarmed and dismayed by the intelligence that Henry, with an army of six thousand men at arms and twenty-four thousand foot, had landed near Harfleur, and pressed the siege of that town, which, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to capitulate.

But

But the gallantry of the governor and garrison of Harfleur allowed France time to collect her forces; an army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was assembled in Normandy, under the constable d'Albert; while the fatigues of the siege, and the uncommon heat of the season, had wasted the numbers of the English to one half of their original force. Henry had already dismissed his transports, which would have been endangered on an open coast; and sensible of the difficulties which must attend his march to Calais, he offered to purchase a safe retreat at the expence of his new conquest of Harfleur. But the army of the constable was already joined by the dauphin and the princes of the blood, impatient to signalize themselves, and efface the disgrace of Crecy and Poitiers, they rejected the proposal; and the king of England found he must place his sole reliance on his own conduct and valour. He slowly pointed his march towards the river Somme, which he hoped to pass at the same ford as had proved so auspicious to his predecessor Edward. In this he was disappointed by the precautions of the French; and as he advanced along the banks of the river, his provisions hourly diminished and his difficulties increased. At length he surprised a passage near St. Quintin; but he had scarcely reached the opposite side, before the French, who pressed upon his footsteps, traversed the Somme also, and posted themselves between the English army and Calais.

The experience of former defeats, it might naturally have been expected, would have checked the impetuosity of the French, and would have taught them to have extinguished their adversary without trusting to the uncertain event of a field of battle: But in an age when the art of war was little understood, and when all glory consisted in personal prowess, it was difficult to restrain the swelling spi-

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rits of a martial nobility, who considered the presence of their enemy as an insult. The dauphin and the duke of Berri had absented themselves to attend the king, who was oppressed by a return of his indisposition; and the command was entrusted to the constable d'Albert, who in his determination to fight, and in the disposition which he made, shewed himself equally unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. The plains of Azincourt have been rendered immortal by this celebrated action. Henry no sooner found his retreat intercepted by the appearance of the enemy, than he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and patiently awaited the charge of his foes, whose numbers four times exceeded his own.

In the battle of Azincourt we review that of Poitiers; the French charged with the same contempt of danger and discipline; the English received them with the same cool and deliberate intrepidity. The former were led on by a generous nobility, and encouraged by their superior numbers; the latter were animated by the presence of their king, and the memory of ancient glory. The event was such as might be expected; the French were disordered by their own impetuosity, and their numbers served only to increase their confusion and disgrace. Their cavalry were entangled in the heavy ground on which they engaged; and, incapable of flight or resistance, were slaughtered by the battle-axes of the English. The constable himself, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, the counts of Vaudemont and Marle, scorning to survive this national calamity, rushed into the midst of the tumult, and perished, with above ten thousand of their followers. The dukes of Orléans and Bourbon; the counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont;

mont; the maréchal of Boucicaut; and above fourteen thousand of inferior rank, were taken prisoners: While on the side of the English, the duke of York was the only person of consequence who fell; and their whole loss did not exceed forty men.

Henry immediately pursued his triumphant march to Calais; but the inconsiderable number of his troops did not allow him to improve his advantage. From Calais he passed over with his prisoners to England, and soon after concluded a truce with the ministers of Charles. But whatever reasons might deter the English monarch from returning with fresh forces to the instant conquest of France, that kingdom, on the news of his victory, was shaken by the most violent convulsions. Consternation and affright pervaded every province; and the death of the dauphin Lewis, though his character afforded no promise of happier times, heightened the confusion, by the suspicious circumstances which accompanied his indisposition. His second brother John, who succeeded to his rights and title, and who had married the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, within a year was involved in the same unexpected fate; and the voice of a jealous people, which even glanced at the queen, more loudly accused the king of Sicily, the son of the duke of Anjou, who expired at Calabria, of administering poison to John, that he might promote the interest of Charles, the third son of the king of France, on whom his daughter had bestowed her hand, and on whom the title of dauphin now devolved.

The sword of constable had been bestowed, after the defeat of Azincourt, on the count of Armagnac, whose enterprising measures compelled the duke of Burgundy to relinquish the administration that he had usurped, and drove him from court to seek refuge in his own territories.

From

A. D.

1415, 1416.

A. D. 1417.

From thence he was soon invited by new dissensions in the royal family. The queen had amassed, by years of successive rapacity, an immense treasure; the dauphin was persuaded not only to seize it for the public use, but at the same time to execute an act of exemplary vengeance on one of her minions who had dishonoured his father's bed. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and strictly confined. But the spirit of Isabella could ill brook these reiterated insults; and she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her son, the dauphin, was attached to the house of Orleans, she soon extended her resentment to him. Delivered from her confinement by the arms of the duke of Burgundy, she is supposed to have received that prince with the same criminal complaisance as she had before shewn to the duke of Orleans, whom he had caused to be assassinated. She assumed the title and authority of regent, to which she had been nominated by a former edict of the king. She fixed the seat of her independent residence at Troyes; and sanctioned by her name the enterprises of her new ally against the ministers of her son, who, she asserted, detained her royal consort in captivity.

A. D. 1418, 1419. Henry the Fifth had landed again in Normandy, and reduced that fertile province to his obedience. Lisle-Adam, one of the captains of the duke of Burgundy, suddenly presented himself before the gates of Paris; was admitted into the city by the partiality or treachery of a burgher; and headed an insurrection of the people, in which the person of the king was seized, and the count of Armagnac, the chancellor and the principal adherents of the Orlean party, were inhumanly massacred. The dauphin himself escaped with difficulty, through the vigilance and address of Tannegui de Chastel; and rejecting the solicitations of his mother to return to Paris, secured himself within the walls of Poitiers.

The

The king of England, with an army superior to open resistance, had already shaken the walls of Rouen. To the cardinal des Ursins, who entreated him to think of peace, and to moderate his pretensions, "Do you not see," he replied, "that God has led me hither as by the hand: Every thing here is in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to place the crown of France on my head?" Yet Henry was sensible what obstacles still remained for him to surmount; he had already experienced the difficulties of procuring supplies from the English parliament; and his coffers were exhausted by a succession of victories. However flattering the prospect might be to his ambition, his policy induced him gradually to lessen his demands; and he fixed, as the price of peace, his marriage with the princess Catharine, and all the provinces ceded to Edward the Third by the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty. Isabella, destitute of every feeling as a queen and mother, and insatiate of revenge against her personal enemies, instantly closed with the terms proposed, and even conducted her daughter to Troyes, in Champagne, where the nuptials with Henry were to be solemnized. But the duke of Burgundy still hesitated. Whether a spark of patriotism still glowed within his bosom, and suffered him not to subscribe a treaty so pernicious to his country; whether he dreaded the rising genius of Henry, and foresaw his own ruin in the aggrandisement of the English monarch, he seized the interval, pressed his negociations with the dauphin, and consented to an accommodation to rescue his country from destruction.

Whatever were the views of the duke of Burgundy, the conduct of the dauphin has for ever stained his memory with the blackest

A. D. 1419.

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treachery. An interview was appointed between the two princes at the bridge of Montereau-sur-Yonne : But the former was still conscious of his dark and bloody crime in the assassination of the duke of Orleans : he dreaded the vengeance due to his guilt, and studiously procrastinated the fatal hour of conference. Every precaution was taken to remove his fears ; lofty rails were erected across the bridge ; and it was agreed that only ten persons on each side should be admitted into the vacant space. Even to the last moment his reluctance was extreme ; but he had now advanced too far to retreat. He entered the fatal gate, and threw himself at the feet of the dauphin : At that instant, Tannegui de Chastel, with several others of the dauphin's party, and who had been attached to the late duke of Orleans, sprung over the barrier. The first blow was given by Chastel ; and the duke of Burgundy immediately fell, pierced with a hundred wounds. His friends, astonished, and incapable of resistance, were either taken prisoners or involved in his fate.

The patience of the reader must have been already fatigued by the long series of bloody crimes which marks this turbulent and sanguinary æra ; but the last atrocious deed claims such a pre-eminence of guilt as again awakens our attention and indignation : We behold a prince, on whom an extensive kingdom long harassed by foreign and domestic war rested her last hopes, despise all principles of honour, trample on every law, and become the base accomplice of a cowardly assassination. The extreme youth of the dauphin has indeed been pleaded in extenuation of his conduct ; but in his more mature years he retained about his person, and distinguished by every mark of affection and confidence the perpetrators of the flagitious action. The bands of civil society were loosened by the royal example ; and the flames of war which might have been extinguished,

tinguished; or their fury at least assuaged, broke forth with increase of violence. Isabella, loud in her complaints, and impatient for vengeance, instantly bestowed the hand of Catharine on Henry, and celebrated their nuptials at Troyes. Philip, the son of the duke of Burgundy, and who succeeded to the honours and dominions of his father, joined the English standard, and only stipulated the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bedford, the brother of Henry, and the proscription of his father's assassins. The city of Paris, long partial to the house of Burgundy, rose in arms, and filled every street with scenes of bloody tumult; while the unhappy Charles the Sixth, sunk into imbecility, and delivered into the hands of the natural enemy of his country, sanctioned by his name the unbounded ambition of Henry, and the implacable passions of Isabella.

In the new treaty concluded between the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy, it was agreed that Charles during his life should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be declared heir, and immediately entrusted with the reins of government, and that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France should swear, that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement.

As soon as the dauphin received intelligence of the treaty of Troyes, he assumed

A. D. 1420.

A. D. 1421.

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sumed the title of regent, and declared his determination to depend for the maintenance of it on God and his sword. But unable to resist the confederacy of his enemies, he retired into the southern provinces, and fortified himself in the countries beyond the Loire. Henry, in the mean time, occupied Sens, and made himself master of Montereau; where the duke of Burgundy found the corpse of his father indecently buried in the cloaths in which he was slain. His pious care embalmed it, and conveyed it in a leaden coffin to Dijon. The garrison and governor of Melun for four months checked the progress of the English, but that town was at length reduced; and Henry, after entrusting Paris to the vigilance of his uncle, the duke of Exeter, crossed over to England, to provide the supplies necessary for the ensuing campaign. He had already levied a new army of four thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, when his embarkation was hastened by an important and unexpected defeat.

When Charles, the dauphin, retired beyond the Loire, he was almost entirely destitute of money or troops. The former he procured to supply his present exigencies by the dangerous measure of debasing his coin; and Scotland, jealous of the progress of Henry, and fearful of the inevitable ruin of her ancient ally, permitted a body of seven thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, second son to the duke of Albany, then regent of the kingdom, to be transported to France for the support of the dauphin. Henry had endeavoured to recall these in the name of the Scottish king, at that time his prisoner; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity; and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was entitled to no authority.

The

The duke of Clarence, a younger brother of the king of England, had made an incursion into Anjou, and attempted to surprize the Scotch, then encamped by themselves at Beague. The earl of Buchan in a few moments gave to his troops an order and a field of battle. Victory was long obstinately disputed; but the English were at last defeated. The duke of Clarence himself was slain by Sir Allan Swainton, a Scotch knight; the earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon were taken prisoners. Charles received with transport the news of this first advantage which he had obtained over the arms of his enemies; and to reward the services of the earl of Buchan, he bestowed on him the sword of constable.

But his exultation soon faded on the arrival of Henry: The king of England was received in Paris by the acclamations of the citizens; and he immediately led his army to the relief of Chartres, which was besieged by the dauphin. That prince was compelled to retire before the superior numbers of his rival, who pursued him as far as Orleans. On his return he received the submission of Dreux; and at the request of the Parisians besieged Meaux: It was obstinately defended by the bastard of Varus, as renowned for his bravery as he was detested for his inhumanity. He had ignominiously executed all the English and adherents of the duke of Burgundy who fell into his hands. His despair protracted his fate for eight months: At length Meaux surrendered; and Henry immediately commanded the governor to be suspended from a neighbouring tree, the instrument of his former barbarities.

At Paris, a solemn process was instituted against the dauphin for the murder of the duke of Burgundy: He was summoned to appear before a tribunal of his enemies; his absence was construed into a proof of his guilt; and he was pronounced incapable of succeeding to the crown. This sen-

tence was soon after followed by the intelligence that queen Catharine was delivered of a son at Windsor; the event was celebrated by equal rejoicing at Paris and at London; the royal infant, who was baptized by the name of his father, Henry, was considered as the successor to both kingdoms, and seemed to extinguish even the hopes of the dauphin. That prince, chased beyond the Loire, deserted entirely by the northern provinces, destitute of treasures and troops to oppose his prosperous competitor, prepared to meet with fortitude the destruction which it seemed impossible to avoid; when he was preserved by one of those fortunate incidents which so often baffle the plans of the most profound policy, and decide the fate of empires.

A. D. 1422. Henry had determined to open the ensuing campaign with the invasion of Picardy, and appeared in the field early in the month of July. The united forces of the English and Burgundians threatened to overwhelm all opposition: But while he halted at Senlis, to allow the earl of Warwic time to scour the adjacent country, he was recalled to Paris by the intelligence that the fickle citizens wavered in their allegiance, and had already entered into a correspondence with the dauphin to betray the capital into his power. The unexpected appearance of Henry confounded their intrigues, and commanded their obedience. The king of England immediately returned to Senlis, to press the operations of war; where, amidst the pride of victory, and the prospect of dominion, he was attacked by a complaint, which the ignorance of the age rendered mortal. A fistula with which he was seized, soon terminated in a mortification; and Henry, sensible of his approaching end, devoted, with manly firmness, the few remaining moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom and his family, and to the pious duties of religion.

To

To the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, he left the regency of France; that of England he committed to the duke of Gloucester, his younger brother; and to the earl of Warwick he entrusted the important care of his son's person and education. He entreated these noblemen to continue to his infant offspring the fidelity and attachment which he himself had always experienced from them; he expressed his confidence that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour; he recommended to them to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, never to give liberty to the French prisoners taken at Azincourt, till his son was of age, and could hold the reins of government himself: And he conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom, unless Charles of Valois, for so he termed the dauphin, should consent at least to annex Normandy to the crown of England, as some compensation for the enterprises he had engaged in, and for the pretensions which they would relinquish.

After having thus delivered his advice to the nobles whom he honoured with his friendship, the dying monarch assiduously applied himself to his devotions, and declared his serious intention, when he had completely subdued France, to have marched against the infidels, and attempted the recovery of the Holy Land. Even the mind of Henry, strong and penetrating as it was, had not escaped the prejudices of a martial and superstitious age; and he hoped to atone for the crimes of his father, and the bloody consequences of his own ambition, by again deluging Palestine with the blood of unbelievers: Consoled by this pious resolution, with the calmest tranquillity he expired in the tenth year of his reign and thirty-fourth year of his age.

As the successful invader, and the nominal regent of France, the character of Henry commands our attention; his abilities were equally distinguished in the field and the cabinet; and while we admire the boldness of his enterprises, we cannot refuse our praise to the skilful manner in which they were conducted: His affability attached to his service his friends, his address and clemency vanquished his enemies. The unceasing attention which he paid to the administration of justice, and the severe discipline which he preserved in his armies, alleviated the calamities of the incessant hostilities by which France and England were agitated during his short and splendid reign. He received into favour the Earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown of England than himself; and that nobleman safely confided in the friendship of a monarch, above the low jealousies which so frequently reside in royal bosoms. One frailty only seems to have alloyed the purity of his character; but it was the blemish of a great and noble mind; the love of arms and military glory.

A. D. 1422. The unhappy Charles, the father-in-law of Henry, survived him only fifty-six days: The dawn of his understanding had presented the fairest prospect to his subjects; but it was overcast by the clouds of insanity; and the transient return of reason served only to expose to him the infamy of his consort, the misery of his people, and his own wretchedness. After the death of the duchess of Orleans, his queen presented to him another mistress, who soon acquired the same ascendancy over him. Odetto de Champdivers was daughter to a dealer in horses; young, lively, and beautiful, she alone had any influence over the distracted Charles, who co-habited with her, and even had by her a daughter, named Margaret de Valois, whom his successor acknowledged as his sister, and
liberally

liberally portioned. In the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign, Charles was dismissed from a life of misery to the grave : His last moments were soothed only by a single gentleman of the bed-chamber, a confessor, and an almoner ; and the ceremony of his funeral was hastily performed without the honours due to his rank, or the attendance of the princes of his blood.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVII.

Character of Charles the Seventh.—Conduct of the Duke of Bedford.—Battles of Crevant and Verneuil.—Difference between the Dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester.—Siege of Orleans.—Battle of Herrings.—Account of Joan D'Arc, surnamed the Maid of Orleans;—Enters Orleans, and storms the entrenchments of the English—The Siege of Orleans raised.

A. D. 1422. IT is the celebrated remark of a profound historian, “ that there is in all governments an ultimate point of depression and elevation, at which affairs revert and return in a contrary direction;” and the justice of the observation is strongly exemplified in that æra of the French monarchy which is the immediate object of our attention. Great part of the nobility of France had perished on the fatal plains of Azincourt; her princes were the captives of the victors, or had drawn their hostile swords against each other; her provinces were ravaged, her treasures exhausted, and her cities depopulated. The feeble age of Henry the Sixth, at the decease of his father only nine months old, was supplied by the integrity, the ability, and the experience of his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. On the former, the administration of France was devolved; his prudence, his valour, and his generosity qualified him for the important trust; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, and was at the head of armies enured to victory, while the whole power of England was at his command; and the northern

northern provinces of France, already reduced to submission, contributed their effort to involve the remainder of the kingdom in the same subjection.

The same messenger which imparted to the dauphin the news of his father's death, added the unwelcome tidings that Henry of Lancaster had been solemnly proclaimed at Paris, king of England and France. A fugitive in the mountains of Auvergne, attended only by some princes of the blood, and a few brave adventurers, Charles hesitated not to assume a title to which he had so just a claim; he was saluted king by his faithful band of adherents; and, in the twentieth year of his age, crowned at Poitiers; Rheims, the usual place for that ceremony, being then in the hands of the English. But amidst the distresses which surrounded him, to maintain the dignity of his new station required every exertion of prudence and activity; so extreme was his penury, that by the sale of his royal consort's plate and jewels he could scarce supply the immediate demands for his dress and table. A powerful and prosperous monarchy was armed against him; his own capital, with the most desirable provinces of his kingdom, refused their allegiance; and even those who by the ties of blood and nature were bound to support him, were closely leagued with his enemies. His kinsman, Philip, duke of Burgundy, pursued him as the assassin of his father; and his mother Isabella assailed his life with unwearied rage and unnatural enmity.

Yet some rays of hope gleamed through the clouds of adversity which darkened his accession. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy; all zealous Frenchmen considered his establishment as the test of the independence of their country; the act of exclusion which had passed at Paris, was regarded with just contempt; the injuries which France had suffered in a long course of hostilities, inflamed the minds of the inhabitants against the English, and taught

taught them to look up to Charles as their deliverer: They beheld the implacability of Isabella with horror; and they loaded the duke of Burgundy with reproaches for sacrificing the interests of his country to his private resentments.

The character of Charles the Seventh began about this time to unfold itself. The guilt of Montreau was lost in a disposition which on every other occasion seemed distinguished by its benignity and generosity. Easy and familiar in his manners, he secured the love of those who approached his presence; mild and forgiving, his pardon was readily extended to those who had even insulted his person and his throne. Though the love of pleasure might sometimes triumph over the duties of his station, yet on great emergencies, and in the hour of danger, he displayed a spirit which attracted the admiration of a gallant people. A few days before the death of his father, he was preserved from destruction by an accident which impressed his followers with the most auspicious hopes; and visible protection of a Divine Providence. The room in which he was giving audience at Rochelle suddenly fell in; many were killed, most were wounded; but the chair of the dauphin, in its descent, was intercepted by a thick wall, on which it fortunately rested; and he remained unhurt amidst the general tumult and distraction.

A. D. 1423. The attention of his adversary, the duke of Bedford, immediately on the death of his brother, had been prudently directed to strengthen the interests of the English by new alliances. The provinces which they had already subdued, lay between the dominions of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and the friendship of the latter was an object of the highest importance. He had already been repeatedly disgusted by the ministers of Charles, and had acceded to the treaty

of Troyes: His brother, the count of Richemont, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, possessed an unbounded influence over him. The regent released the count from his parole, on which he had been permitted by Henry the Fifth to visit his native country; he persuaded the duke of Burgundy, whose younger sister he himself had married, to bestow on him the hand of his eldest sister, the widow of the deceased dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles; and endeavoured to secure him by the prevalent motives of interest to second the efforts of the English arms.

To these negotiations succeeded the operations of war. Charles, still desirous of employing his enemies in the provinces north of the Loire, contested every castle with politic obstinacy. He had been lately reinforced by numbers of the Scots; and John Stuart, constable of Scotland, with the lord of Estissac, had formed the siege of Crevant in Burgundy. The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk marched to its relief; the besiegers were routed, with the loss of above a thousand men; and the constable of Scotland, with the count of Ventadour, were taken prisoners. This victory was attended by the capture of Gaillon upon the Seine, and la Charite upon the Loire; and the passage of that river seemed opened to the English.

Charles was sensible that the war could not long be protracted if the southern provinces were exposed to the ravages of his enemies; the late defeat had not broken his spirit, or induced him to relinquish a system, the propriety of which he was so well assured of. The duke of Bedford had been for three months engaged in the siege of Yvri in Normandy; and the governor finding his resources exhausted, had agreed to surrender the town unless relieved by a certain day. The king of France hoped by a successful enterprise to restore the
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A. D. 1424.

lustre of his arms, and to preserve Yvri. He collected with diligence, although with difficulty, an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots; and entrusted it to the valour and experience of the earl of Buchan, constable of France, who had already distinguished himself by the defeat of the duke of Clarence. That general was accompanied by the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount Narbonne. He arrived too late to succour Yvri, which had already opened her gates; but he immediately invested Verneuil, and possessed himself of it by the levity of the inhabitants. He had scarce time to secure his new conquest before he was informed of the approach of the duke of Bedford. A council of war was immediately assembled to determine what conduct they should pursue. In vain did the most experienced French officers urge the glory they had already attained, in an acquisition no less important than the place which they had been sent to relieve; in vain did they remonstrate on the imprudence of hazarding an army, the last resource of their king; the Scots rejected with contempt the indignity of retiring before the English; their opinion was espoused by the rash and presumptuous, and they resolved to wait the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

The armies which encountered each other near Verneuil were equally balanced in point of numbers. The earl of Buchan resolved to expect with patient firmness the charge of the enemy; but his measures were disconcerted by the impatience of the Viscount Narbonne: That nobleman, with the troops under his immediate command, rushed forward to attack his adversaries; and the constable, to support him, was compelled to abandon the advantageous ground which he had chosen. Yet even this error did not prevent the day from being obli-

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nately disputed ; the English archers were broken, and rallied again with difficulty ; but the cavalry, animated by the presence and example of the duke of Bedford, charged with irresistible fury. After a bloody conflict, the French pressed on all sides, began gradually to retreat ; and that retreat was soon changed into a tumultuous flight. Four thousand of their bravest soldiers, with the earls of Buchan and Douglas, the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and Narbonne, perished in the field. The body of the latter, as one of the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, was broken on the wheel, and afterwards exposed on a gibbet. But the victors purchased their triumph at the expence of sixteen hundred men ; a loss so unusual, that the duke of Bedford forbade all rejoicings for his success.

Verneuil capitulated the next day ; and the destruction of Charles appeared inevitable. The equal temper with which he supported a series of incessant misfortunes established his fame ; but from the danger which threatened to overwhelm him, he could only be saved by the dissensions of his enemies. When hope was extinguished, when despair on every side encompassed him, he was suddenly preserved from ruin ; and the imprudence of the English ravished from their grasp a conquest of which they thought themselves secure.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heiress of those provinces, had espoused John, duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy : The marriage had been dictated by policy ; but the masculine spirit and brilliant capacity of the princess despised her ill-sorted consort, equally feeble in body and mind, and who had only attained his fifteenth year. Contempt was soon the parent of antipathy ; and impatient of the dilatory measures and doubtful determinations of the court of Rome, she escaped into England, and solicited the protection

protection of the Duke of Gloucester. The impetuous passions of that prince blinded him to the true interests of his country; the charms of the countess, the inheritance she was possessed of, presented themselves to his view. Without waiting for a dispensation from the pope, without endeavouring to conciliate the duke of Burgundy, he entered into a marriage contract with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to render himself master of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy resented the injury offered to his kinsman, the duke of Brabant; he encouraged him to resist the usurpation, and allured to his standard the subjects of Jaqueline. At length he openly declared in his favour, and marched his troops to his support; while the quarrel, which at first was political, soon became personal, from some unguarded expressions in his correspondence with the duke of Gloucester.

That prince, to support his pretensions in Hainault and Holland, had intercepted the succours intended for the duke of Bedford, and for the prosecution of the war in France; and the same dissensions diverted the aid which the duke of Burgundy had engaged to furnish. In vain did the regent represent to his brother the danger of alienating that confederate, whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. Love and ambition occupied the soul of the duke of Gloucester; he still persisted in pressing the war in the Low Countries; and the duke of Bedford, instead of improving the victory of Verneuil, was obliged to cross the seas to England, that he might try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of his brother.

A. D. 1425. The pope had already declared void the contract of that prince with Jaqueline; and also added, that in case of the duke of Brabant's death,

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death, she should not be at liberty to espouse the duke of Gloucester. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover the possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. But the advantage which the latter prince reaped from the accommodation of these differences did not prevent him in future from regarding the English with jealousy; and the satisfaction which the regent enjoyed from reconciling one ally, was soon alloyed by the unexpected desertion of another.

The count of Richemont had ever shewn himself desirous of being placed at the head of an army; a trust which the duke of Bedford was by no means willing to repose in him. Although allied by marriage to that prince and the duke of Burgundy, these feeble bands were not capable of resisting the torrent of his military ambition. By the death of the earl of Buchan, the important post of constable of France was vacant; and Charles, informed of the discontent of the earl of Richemont, offered him the sword, the object of his martial desires. The count closed with the proposal; and his influence over his brother, the duke of Brittany, induced that prince to repounce his engagements with England, and to espouse the cause of Charles the Seventh. But the king of France purchased this accession of strength by the most mortifying concessions; to gratify the duke of Brittany, he was obliged to dismiss his minister, Louvet, who had adhered to him through all the vicissitudes of fortune; and the count of Richemont insisted that Tannegui de Chastel, the faithful companion of Charles's misfortunes, should be banished from his court, as the murderer of his father-in-law, the late duke of Burgundy.

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A. D. 1426. An English army of three thousand men, under the command of the earl of Warwick, during these political negotiations, had formed the siege of Montargis, and that place was reduced to the last extremity. Charles collected a body of sixteen hundred men, and entrusted them to a natural son of that duke of Orleans who had been assassinated by the duke of Burgundy. This general, who was afterwards so famous under the different descriptions of Bastard of Orleans and count of Dunois, displayed in this enterprise the dawn of his meridian fortune and glory. He attacked the enemy's entrenchments with prudence, valour, and success; penetrated into Montargis, and compelled the English to abandon the siege with disgrace.

The advantages which Charles derived from having attached to his fortunes Arthur, count of Richemont, was in some measure balanced by the turbulent and ferocious temper of that haughty nobleman. The sword of constable was as frequently unsheathed against the favourites, as against the enemies of the king. His minister, the seigneur de Guyac, and the Camus de Beaulieu, with the marshal de Bouffac, were the successive victims to Arthur's resentment. But while he insulted the dignity of the crown at Poitiers, he restored its authority in Normandy; and several important posts on the frontiers of that province were recovered from the English.

A. D. 1427. The duke of Bedford had beheld with indignation the levity or treachery with which the duke of Brittany had renounced his former engagements to enter into new ones with Charles. Immediately on his arrival in France, he secretly assembled a considerable army to chastise the desertion of that prince; he suddenly invaded the province, unprepared for resistance; he compelled the duke to renounce his late alliance with France; to
subscribe

subscribe to the treaty of Troyes; to acknowledge his title as regent; and to yield homage to Henry for his duchy. Successful in this enterprise, he entered on another equally important; and determined to invest the city of Orleans, which, situated between the provinces commanded by Henry and those possessed by Charles, opened an easy entrance to either. The army for this siege, which consisted of ten thousand men, he entrusted to the veteran abilities of the earl of Salisbury. The first motions of the English apprised Charles of their intentions; he reinforced the garrison, replenished the magazines, and appointed as governor the lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain.

The forces of the earl of Salisbury were not sufficiently numerous to invest Orleans A. D.
1428, 1, 29. on every side: and he resolved to press his attacks against the southern quarter towards Sologne, and leave that towards the Beausse open to the enemy: But he himself was killed by a cannon ball, in a spirited and successful attempt on the fortifications. The command, on the death of the earl of Salisbury, devolved on the earl of Suffolk. The army was reinforced by large bodies of the French and Burgundians; and Orleans, under his directions, was completely invested. The inclemency of the season, and the rigour of winter, could not overcome the perseverance of the besiegers; a chain of forts was arduously constructed; yet the vacant spaces still allowed succours to be introduced; the garrison, before the return of spring, was swelled by frequent supplies from twelve hundred to three thousand men; and their hopes were raised, and their efforts encouraged, by the presence and example of the Bastard of Orleans.

The French themselves, to distress the besiegers, had ravaged and exhausted the adjacent country; and the English were compelled to draw their subsistence

sistence from a considerable distance. A convoy of provisions was entrusted to the conduct of Sir John Falstosse, with a select detachment of two thousand five hundred men. The king of France, determined to exert every nerve for the preservation of the city, collected a body of troops, in number about four thousand, and appointed the count of Clermont to command them. On the approach of the French, Falstosse drew up his men behind the waggons, and calmly received the fury of their charge. The French were broken by their own impetuosity; five hundred perished on the field; and this action, from the provisions of which the convoy was composed, obtained the name of the Battle of *Herrings*.

Disappointed in his attempt to relieve Orleans by arms, the king of France now endeavoured to preserve it by policy. The duke of Orleans, still a prisoner in England, had obtained from the duke of Gloucester and his council the promise of a neutrality in his demesnes; and that they should be sequestered during the war into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But this expedient was firmly rejected by the duke of Bedford; and to the importunities of the duke of Burgundy he coolly replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game. That prince, disgusted with his refusal, separated his forces from those of the English; but the latter still pressed the siege with increase of ardour; and the jealousy of the former might have protracted, but could not have averted the fate of Orleans; when it was preserved by an occurrence so singular as almost to stagger belief, and which can only be received on the undoubted testimony of concurring and contemporary historians.

Charles, depressed and desponding, had already begun to meditate a retreat into Dauphine. From this intention he was diverted by the intreaties of his

his queen, Mary of Anjou, a princess of prudence and spirit ; and by the more persuasive remonstrances of his beautiful mistress, the celebrated Agnes de Soreille. That lady, in a condition which generally enervates the mind, displayed a soul noble and elevated ; she declared her resolution, if Charles abandoned the throne of France, to seek in England a lover more worthy of her embraces ; and Charles, sunk in indolence and inactivity, was roused by her powerful eloquence to the pursuit of ambition and glory.

While he anxiously and hourly expected the fatal intelligence that Orleans had surrendered, his attention was engaged by the appearance of a village girl, destined to prop his falling fortunes, and restore to him the dominions of his ancestors. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, at a small inn, resided a female servant called Joan d'Arc ; she had been accustomed to ride the horses of her master's guests to water ; her employment and conversation with the company whom she attended had given her a degree of boldness above her sex ; and she listened with pleasure to the martial achievements, the constant topics of conversation in a warlike age. The calamities of her country, and the distress of her sovereign, were the objects of her daily thoughts and nightly dreams. She was soon inflamed with the desire of avenging on the English the misery of France ; and an ignorant mind might have possibly mistaken the impulse of her passions for heavenly inspirations. She procured admission to Baudrecourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs ; she declared to him that she had been exhorted by frequent visions and distinct voices, to achieve the deliverance of her country ; and the governor either equally credulous himself, or sufficiently penetrating to foresee the effect of such an enthusiast might have on the minds of the vulgar,

granted her an escort to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon, in Touraine.

On her arrival at Chinon, she is said to have distinguished Charles from his courtiers, though divested of every ensign of royalty; to have revealed a secret to him unknown to all the world beside himself; and to have demanded and described by particular marks, a sword which she had never seen, and which she required as the instrument of her future victories; she asserted that she was commissioned to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed. Charles and his ministers *pretended* to examine her pretensions with scrupulous exactness: They *affected* at length to be convinced of the sincerity of her declarations, and of her supernatural powers. Their opinion was solemnly and publicly countenanced by an assembly of doctors and theologians, and by the parliament of France, then residing at Poitiers. After repeated examinations, the mission of Joan d'Arc was pronounced to be divine; and the spirits of a despairing people were again elevated by the hope that heaven had declared itself in favour of France.

That Charles might avail himself of the enthusiasm of the moment, he sent Joan to Blois, where a convoy was already provided for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men was collected to escort it. The holy maid, displaying in her hands a consecrated banner, marched at the head of her troops. She had already declared her intention of entering the city by the road from the side of Beaufle: but the bastard of Orleans, whom we shall hereafter style count of Dunois, unwilling entirely to trust the operations of war to the suggestions of fanaticism, controlled the rash design, and persuaded Joan to approach the town on the opposite

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side of the Loire, where he knew the besiegers were weakest.

The English had at first heard with contempt the preparations of Charles, and derided the heavenly commission of Joan; but the minds of the common soldiers were insensibly impressed with holy dread, and they awaited the event with anxious horror. The earl of Suffolk, apprised of the disposition of his troops, vainly flattered himself that time would dispel their terrors, and banish the illusion. He determined to remain quietly within his entrenchments, while the convoy entered the city, on the side of Beaufosse, and was also suffered by the besiegers to pass without resistance. The French assumed new spirits; while the English, formerly elated with victory and impatient for action, beheld the enterprises of their enemies in silent astonishment and religious consternation.

But even this state of inactivity was no longer permitted to them; the enthusiasm of Joan could not be restrained within the walls of Orleans: She exhorted the garrison to listen to her voice, and imitate her example. In a successful sally, the entrenchments of the besiegers were stormed, and even the valour of the renowned Sir John Talbot seemed to wither at her approach. A second sally swept away the forts on the opposite side of the Loire; and a wound from an arrow, which in the attack was inflicted on the neck of Joan, served rather to inflame the courage of the intrepid heroine. The count of Dunois consented to seize the moment of returning fortune; the English were successively chased from their posts, with the loss of above six thousand men; the earl of Suffolk determined to raise a siege which he could no longer continue with a probability of success; and the French, animated by this first essay of the holy maid, prepared to improve their advantage, and avail themselves of the superstitious fears of their adversaries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Victories of the French.—Coronation of Charles the Seventh at Rheims.—Maid of Orleans taken prisoner;—is condemned and executed.—The duke of Burgundy reconciles himself to the king of France.—Paris opens her gates to Charles.—Battle of Castillon. The English are expelled France.—Discontent of the Dauphin.—Retires to the duke of Burgundy.—Death of Charles the Seventh.

A. D. 1429. **W**ITH the siege of Orleans expired the genius of the English; and their conquests in France, attained at the expence of so much blood and treasure, were swept away by the returning tide of Charles's fortune. The earl of Suffolk, with part of his forces, had retired to Jergeau; he was there invested by the French, animated by the presence of Joan, and in ten days the town was taken by assault, and Suffolk himself made prisoner. The constable Richemont pressed the remnant of the English, who endeavoured to retreat under the conduct of Falstosse, Scales, and Talbot: They were overtaken at the village of Patay: oppressed by their fears, they scarce awaited the charge of their enemies; the example of flight was given by Falstosse himself, who had so lately triumphed at the battle of Herrings; two thousand of his soldiers were slaughtered on the field; and among the captives of Richemont were Talbot and Scales.

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The Maid of Orleans had fulfilled part of her promise by raising the siege of that city ; but a more arduous enterprize remained to conduct the king to receive his crown at Rheims. The city itself lay distant from any place possessed by Charles ; it was in the hands of the English ; and the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons. Yet Joan insisted on the execution of her mission ; the king himself shook off his general indolence, and resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophets ; the nobility of France crowded to the standard of their youthful sovereign, who began his march at the head of twelve thousand men ; he passed without interruption through an enemy's country ; received in his progress the submission of Troyes ; was instantly admitted into Rheims ; and in that city was solemnly inaugurated, the Maid of Orleans standing by his side in complete armour, and displaying, during the ceremony, her holy banner. The claim of Charles from his coronation at Rheims, received new lustre ; and Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Provins, and many other towns in the neighbourhood disputed the honour of first acknowledging the authority of their lawful sovereign.

The prudence of Bedford had been constantly exerted to stem the torrent ; nor was his character ever displayed to more advantage than amidst the storms of adversity. He reinforced the garrisons of the different towns, replenished their magazines, and over-awed the inclinations of the inhabitants ripe for revolt. The Parisians were retained in obedience by alternate caresses and menaces ; and his arts soothed the angry passions of the duke of Burgundy, and deferred the fatal hour of his defection. The bishop of Winchester, his uncle, had landed in Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia,

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A. D. 1430.

on a crusade against the Hussites. The duke of Bedford prevailed on him to prop the declining cause of Henry with these succours; at the head of them he opposed the king of France, advancing towards the gates of Paris. But still doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he seemed to face the enemy he chose his posts with such care and discernment, that Charles in vain endeavoured to compel him to a decisive action. Harassed by the vigilance of the regent, the army of France, which had been composed chiefly of volunteers, at length disbanded; Charles, after having possessed himself of Compeigne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, and St. Denys, retired to Bourges; and Bedford invited Henry the Sixth to Paris; celebrated the ceremony of his coronation in that capital; and exacted an oath of allegiance from the vassals of the crown, who lived within the provinces which acknowledged the authority of the English.

A. D. 1431. Whatever lustre the coronation of the infant Henry might reflect on his cause, the regent expected to derive more solid advantage from an accident which placed within his power the author of his late disgraces and defeats. Joan d'Arc had declared, that with the inauguration of Charles at Rheims, her mission expired; and that it was her wish, after having fulfilled her promises, to retire to her former condition. The count of Dunois had exhorted her to persevere till the English were finally expelled. Overcome by his importunities, she had thrown herself into Compeigne, which at that time was besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. In a sally on the quarters of John of Luxembourg, she was deserted by her friends, surrounded by her enemies, and after a gallant resistance taken prisoner. She is supposed to have been betrayed by the base envy of the French, who repined at every success being

being ascribed to her influence ; and the neglect of Charles, who made not the slightest effort to procure her release, proves that he no longer expected to derive any benefit from the instrument he had adopted.

The duke of Bedford purchased from John of Luxembourg his important captive, and commenced a prosecution against her, which whether undertaken from policy or revenge, stains with barbarity his accomplished character. As a prisoner of war, Joan was entitled to the courtesy of good usage, practised by civilized nations ; and in her military capacity she never had been impeached of acting with treachery or cruelty. But her enemies were inexorable ; and to disguise the source of their enmity, they prevailed on the bishop of Beauvais, a prelate loose in his principles, and wholly devoted to their interests, to prostitute the sacred name of religion to the persecution they meditated. The bishop pretended that Joan had been taken in his diocese, and desired to have her tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. The university of Paris disgraced itself by joining the request : But Joan for a long time defended herself with manly firmness ; she acknowledged her intention to expel in the English the invaders of her country ; and replied, that she submitted her inspirations, which her judges urged as magical, to God, the fountain of truth. But she was already prejudged ; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to delude the people ; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. It is with indignation the reader must peruse her fate ; after relieving her country from the oppressive yoke of its enemies ; after restoring her prince to his native throne, and his subjects to their freedom, the Maid of Orleans was condemned to be burnt in the market place of Rouen :

Rouen : The inhuman sentence was soon after executed, and the unhappy victim was delivered alive to the flames.

A. D. 1433, 1434. But the inhumanity of the English contributed not to advance their interests : The illusion which had so long oppressed them with terror was indeed dispelled, but the tide of fortune still continued to flow rapidly against them ; the French triumphed in repeated and successive encounters, which though of small consequence in themselves, served to confirm their confidence, and proclaim an approaching revolution. This event was accelerated by a rupture between the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The bands of friendship had been loosened by the death of the dukes of the latter ; and the former complained, that the memory of his sister was insulted by the hasty marriage of the regent with Jaqueline of Luxembourg. All advances toward a reconciliation were disdained by two princes equally tenacious of their dignity ; and Charles availed himself of the discontent of the duke of Burgundy to negotiate the celebrated treaty, since known by the treaty of Arras.

A. D. 1435. The English were invited to join the Congress at St. Vaast, and the cardinal of Winchester appeared as the ambassador of Henry ; but the pretensions of the court of London admitted not yet of accommodation ; and the cardinal of Winchester scarce deigned to answer the offer of Guienne and Normandy, loaded with the usual stipulation of homage to the crown of France. The claims of the duke of Burgundy were listened to with greater condescension ; the conditions were dictated by the commanding situation of Philip, and subscribed by the necessities of Charles. Besides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke's father, the king of France

France ceded to him all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the low countries; he agreed that these, and all the other dominions of Philip, should be held by him during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing fealty to the present king; and he freed his subjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. But still more to flatter the passions of Philip, Charles submitted to the mortification of dismissing his faithful servant Tannegui de Chastel from his court and presence.

By these concessions, a formidable enemy was converted into an important ally. The English had insulted an herald whom the duke of Burgundy had sent to that court to notify the treaty of Arras; and Philip, impatient to signalize his services in the cause of France, affected to resent the indignity, assembled his forces, and prepared to attack the English, whom he now regarded as dangerous and implacable enemies. A few days after the treaty of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired; a prince whose virtuous memory is only blemished by the execution of the Maid of Orleans: A little before him, Isabella, queen dowager of France, breathed her last, universally detested and despised. The court of London, after the death of Bedford, was divided by the factions of the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester: Their dissensions prevented them from embracing any salutary measure; and a considerable space intervened before the duke of York was appointed to succeed the late regent.

Paris, always attached to the House of Burgundy, followed the example of that duke; opened her gates to the count of Richemont, and proclaimed Charles the Seventh. The English governor still defended himself in the Bastile,

A. D.
1436, 1438.

Bastile, and at length obtained a capitulation which permitted him to retire to Rouen. This acquisition restored the constable to the favour of his sovereign, which he had forfeited by violently seizing the minister le Tremouille. On the recovery of his capital, the king of France negotiated a marriage for his son the dauphin with Margaret, daughter to James the Second, king of Scotland; but the nuptial rejoicings were interrupted by the intelligence that the duke of Gloucester had compelled the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Calais; and had avenged the insult by extending his devastations over the province of Artois. The duke of York landed also in Normandy with a considerable reinforcement; while the discontents in Holland and Hainault demanded the attention of Philip, and recalled him from the effectual support of his new allies.

The inclemency of winter did not prevent the contending parties from continuing the operations of war; Pontoise, on the side of the English, was surprised by lord Talbot, who was afterwards created earl of Shrewsbury; Montreau on the Seine was invested by Charles, accompanied by the constable: That town was taken after an obstinate defence; and the king of France in the assault displayed a valour becoming his royal birth and dignity. He had before resisted the solicitations of his parliament to return to Paris, determined first to efface by some martial achievement the unfavourable impressions which his indolence had occasioned. He now entered his capital amidst the merited acclamations of his people; yet, after an absence of nineteen years, he was again compelled to abandon it. Famine and pestilence united severely to humble the exultation of the inhabitants: War had extinguished the seeds of industry and the appearance of affluence; and the streets, destitute of citizens, afforded a secure refuge to the hungry wolves, which,
fearless

fearless and rapacious, passed over the frozen Seine.

At Bourges, on the other side of the Loire, Charles received ambassadors from A. D. 1439. the council of Basil, which had quarrelled with pope Eugenius the Fifth; and in an assembly composed of the princes of the blood and the dignified clergy, he caused the regulations of that council to be examined. These he compiled into a law, to which he gave the name of the Pragmatic Sanction; and which ever since has been considered as the bulwark of the Gallican church, as it deprived the see of Rome from nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, and granting reversions, pensions, and exemptions, within the monarchy of France.

A fruitless negotiation for peace had A. D. 1440. been proposed under the auspices of the duchess of Burgundy; and the constable, in an attempt on Avranches, was surprised and defeated by lord Talbot. The king, to efface this disgrace, commanded his army to be kept in a state of continual preparation: But the nobles of France were impatient of discipline, and they already began to cabal against a sovereign who seemed determined to maintain his authority. The dukes of Alencon and Bourbon, and the count of Dunois, with the late minister le Tremouille, all jealous of the influence of the constable, entered into the confederacy; the dauphin, then scarce eighteen, was induced to strengthen it by his name: But the conspirators, by the advice of the count of Richemont, who prevailed on the king to march in person at the head of a small body of forces, were surprised in the city of Blois. The count of Dunois had already deserted to the standard of his royal master; the dukes of Bourbon and Alencon submitted; and the dauphin reluctantly returned to the duty he owed to his father and his king. Yet the satisfaction of Charles

was

was seldom long without alloy ; after a dreary captivity of twenty-five years, the duke of Orleans was restored to liberty, on the payment of a ransom of three hundred thousand crowns ; the greatest part of which was supplied by the liberality of the duke of Burgundy, desirous of extinguishing by this act of generosity the unhappy dissensions which had prevailed between the two families. But the king of France regarded the reconciliation of these nobles with an eye of jealousy ; and the duke of Orleans, dissatisfied with his coldness, retired in disgust to his own estates.

A. D. 1441. The same spirit which the king had shewn in the attack of Montreau, he displayed with equal success in the assault of Pontoise : He mounted the breach in person, and entered the town at the head of his troops. But from the reduction of Poitou he was recalled by a new confederacy, formed by the duke of Orleans, Burgundy and Brittany, Alençon, and Bourbon. The king listened to their grievances with temper and moderation ; he conciliated the duke of Orleans by the present of a considerable sum towards the payment of his ransom ; and the discontent of that prince once assuaged, the conspiracy dissolved in its own weakness.

A. D. 1442. Harfleur, during these transactions, was invested and vigorously pressed by the English. To the relief of it Charles detached the dauphin, with a powerful army. The young prince broke through the lines of the besiegers, and compelled them to abandon the enterprise. Entrusted with the government of Gascony, he repressed by his vigilance and decision the turbulent practices of the count of Armagnac, whose ambition had induced him to enter into an alliance with Henry the Sixth ; but the measures of the dauphin were so judiciously planned, and executed with so much alacrity,

crity, that the count was induced to abandon his new connexions, and to humble himself before his offended sovereign.

The disorders which on every side distracted the French government, and which A. D. 1443. time alone could remedy, continually inclined the wishes of Charles to peace; and Henry the sixth of England, a monarch feeble, meek, and superstitious, concealed not his desire to extinguish the destructive flames of war. Yet the pretensions of the rival nations admitted not of lasting tranquillity; a suspension of arms for twenty-two months was the temporizing expedient adopted; and this term, which left both parties in possession of what they then occupied, was afterwards prolonged by mutual agreement. The earl of Suffolk, who acted as the ambassador of Henry, concluded at the same time the marriage of his sovereign with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reignier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem; a princess of masculine spirit and enterprising temper; and whose alliance was the source of destruction to Suffolk, and of infinite calamities to his country.

The interval from war Charles had assiduously employed in restoring the splendour of his capital, and the agriculture A. D.
1444, 1448. of the provinces: He laboured to recall the advantages of commerce, and to establish the administration of justice; he introduced order into the finances, and discipline among his troops; he repressed the factions of his court, and revived the languid spirit of industry. He prudently passed in silence the levity of the Genoese, who had demanded his assistance, and afterwards refused to admit his troops; and he declined supporting the pretensions of the duke of Orleans to Milan, who, if seconded by the power of France, might probably have possessed himself of that duchy: But he interfered with vigour

gour on another occasion. On the marriage of Henry of England to Margaret, the province of Maine had been promised to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. The court of London had studiously delayed the restoration of that county; but Charles instantly ordered the count of Dunois, at the head of an army well disciplined and well provided, to enter the province, and expel the English. Mans, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to capitulate; and, with its dependencies, was forever alienated from the crown of England.

A. D. 1449. Surienne, the governor of Mans, with the troops under his command, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, had retired towards Normandy; but the duke of Somerset, to whom the provinces of France still occupied by the English were entrusted, either from want of capacity or inclination to subsist this additional army, refused to admit him. That military adventurer immediately directed his march towards Brittany, and seized the town of Fougères. The duke of Brittany, unable to resist him, complained to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles, informed of the distracted councils of England, acquainted with the weak disposition of Henry, and sensible that the political health of his country was in a great measure restored by the late respite from war, determined to seize the favourable opportunity to invade Normandy. He demanded satisfaction for the damages the duke of Brittany had sustained from the ravages of Surienne; and to ensure a refusal, he estimated those damages at one million six hundred thousand crowns. The incapacity of Henry to comply with this exorbitant demand was the signal for war; and four formidable armies entered Normandy at once. The first was commanded by the king of France himself; the second, by the duke of Brittany, a third,

third, by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count of Dunois.

The inhabitants of Normandy received the invaders with friendly arms; the town scarce waited a summons to open their gates; Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Coutances, &c. hailed with acclamations their lawful sovereign; and Charles, with an army of sixteen thousand men, invaded the duke of Somerset in Rouen. The tumultuous clamours of the citizens demanded a capitulation. Somerset, overwhelmed by secret and open enemies, retired with his forces into the castle and palace, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But his valour was rendered ineffectual by the prudence of the king of France; who contented himself with surrounding him on every side, and awaiting the effect of famine. The pressure of want soon compelled the English to capitulate: A retreat to Harfleur was purchased by the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns, and by an engagement to surrender Arques, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in Normandy. The earl of Shrewsbury, a general whose fortune and conduct the French most feared, was delivered as a hostage for the faithful performance of these conditions; and as the governor of Honfleur rejected the terms, was detained by the French, who, under the command of the count of Dunois, invested and possessed themselves of Harfleur. In the next campaign four thousand English were landed at Cherbourg, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Kyriel; these were routed by the count of Clermont at Fourmigny. The duke of Somerset was again reduced to capitulate in Caen; Falaise opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewsbury should be restored to liberty; and the surrender of Cherbourg, the last place which remained

mained to the English, completed the final conquest of Normandy.

The progress of the count of Dunois in Guienne was almost equally rapid. To preserve that province, the earl of Shrewsbury had landed with five thousand men; but he was compelled against his better judgment, by the impatient clamours of the citizens of Bourdeaux, to hazard the battle of Castillon. Oppressed by superior numbers, he disdained to survive a defeat so fatal to the hopes of his country, and fell with his youthful son, respected and lamented by the victors. Bourdeaux, dismayed at his fate, engaged to open her gates, if not relieved within a certain time. But all concern for France was now swallowed up in the commotions which afflicted England, and shook the throne of Henry: No succour was sent; and Bourdeaux acknowledged the authority of Charles the Seventh. Bayonne followed the example; and the province of Guienne, after a period of three centuries, was ultimately re-united to the crown of France.

But while the epithet of *victorious* was attached to the name of Charles; while the fortune of the monarch was envied and admired, his feelings as a father were most deeply and mortally wounded. The intrigues of the dauphin had already impeded his career of conquest; his resentment had assailed the ministers of his cabinet, and proved more fatal to Agnes Soreille, the beloved mistress of the king. His enmity to that amiable female, whose influence was incessantly exerted to excite her royal lover to deeds of glory and martial achievements, was public and undisguised; and the suspicious circumstances which accompany the death of Agnes, afford but too much reason to believe that poison was administered to her by the express command of Lewis. In opposition to his father's positive

positive injunctions, that prince had espoused as his second wife, Charlotte, daughter to the duke of Savoy; and Charles resented the contempt by a declaration of war against Savoy, which he was persuaded to recall, that he might prosecute the reduction of Guienne.

But the former extensive possessions of the English in France were now confined A. D.
1453, 1456. to the walls of Calais; and Charles, weary of the disobedience of his son, and irritated at the exactions which he practised in the county of Dauphiny, commissioned Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, to seize his person. Lewis, informed of the design, and hopeless of protection from his father-in-law, the duke of Savoy, precipitately withdrew into Franche Comte, and afterwards continued his route into Brabant. The duke of Burgundy was no sooner apprized of his arrival, than he sent his son, the count of Charolois, to wait on him, supplied his necessities with a liberal hand, and gave orders that he should be treated with every mark of respect. But Philip, who from the mild tenor of his latter conduct, had attained the enviable appellation of *Good*, refused to see him till he had obtained the approbation of his father. Lewis having in vain endeavoured to prevail on that prince to supply him with an army to disturb the government of Charles, retired to the castle of Guanepe, near Brussels, which the duke of Burgundy had allotted for his residence, and where he assigned him the princely pension of twelve thousand crowns; while Lewis, ever restless and malevolent, employed his leisure hours in sowing the seeds of discontent between his benefactor and his son, the count of Charolois.

Arthur, count of Richemont and constable of France, had by the death of his nephew acquired the duchy of Brittany; but the

A. D. 1457.

satisfaction which the king might derive from the advancement of that prince, who when his capricious passions intervened not had faithfully adhered to him, was embittered by the treasonable intrigues of the duke of Alencon. That haughty chief, disgusted at the coldness with which the king regarded his pretensions to Fougères, a town occupied by the duke of Brittany, entered into a negotiation with England. His wild designs, which threatened the tranquillity of Normandy, were detected; and Charles in anguish, exclaimed, "In whom can I now put my trust, when the very princes of my own blood conspire against me?" The duke was immediately arrested, tried, and condemned by a sentence of the parliament: At the request of the duke of Brittany, his punishment of death was commuted to perpetual imprisonment; and the castle of Loches was assigned as the seat of his captivity.

A. D.
1435, 1460.

The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were both suspected of having countenanced the designs of the duke of Alencon; but the domestic peace of Philip was soon wounded by the arts of Lewis, and the ambition of his own son, the count of Charolois. The king of France was actuated by compassion to espouse the party of Henry the Sixth, despoiled of the crown of England by the triumphant House of York; the count of Charolois offered to command the forces intended for this enterprise. But under this pretence, he endeavoured to conceal his design of arming against the authority of his father. His intention was penetrated by Charles; and the expression of that marks an honest detestation of the crime, and establishes the moderation of his own character; "For two such kingdoms as my own, I would not have the least participation in so unworthy an action." But he beheld with distrust the residence

residence of the dauphin in the dominions of the duke of Burgundy; and it is not improbable that he entertained an inclination to deprive his ungrateful son of the succession, when a life of sixty and a reign of thirty-nine years were extinguished by a death equally singular and lamentable.

The dauphin's vindictive spirit and unnatural disposition had inspired Charles A. D. 1461. with continual suspicions. Repeated informations pointed out the domestics of the king as the associates of that prince, against the life of his father. The wretched monarch, jealous of all, and ignorant whose attachment to rely on, obstinately refused to receive any nourishment during some days; and when the importunity of his attendants prevailed over his terrors, his stomach would no longer receive the food they proffered, and he perished for want of sustenance. His character has already been described as mild, generous, and courteous; generally sunk in indolence and effeminacy, but sometimes rising into those exertions of virtue which distinguish the hero and the prince. His life had been chequered by every vicissitude of fortune; and when he had triumphed over the hereditary enemies of his throne, he at last expired the victim of domestic dissention. His remains, neglected by his son, were interred at the expence of his faithful companion Tannegui de Chastel.

C H A P. XIX.

Accession of Lewis the Eleventh.—League for the public good.—Battle of Montleheri.—Treaties of Conflans and Saint Maur.—Interview of Lewis at Peronne with the duke of Burgundy.—Imprisonment of the king of France.—Revolutions in England.—Edward the Fourth invades France.—Treaty of Pecquigny.

A. D. 1461. **L**EWIS the Eleventh received the intelligence of his father's death with a joy which he affected not to conceal: The competition of his younger brother, the duke of Berri, vanished at his appearance; his coronation was celebrated with magnificence at Rheims, and graced by the presence of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois. The first emotions of the king's gratitude for the protection he had met with, was displayed in his declaring the count his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a salary of twelve thousand crowns; but these marks of esteem and confidence were transient and deceitful, and were soon succeeded by an enmity between those rival princes, which only expired with life.

From his youth addicted to intrigue, and delighting to tread the crooked paths of policy in preference

rence to the open road which lay before him, Lewis, while he loaded the count of Charolois with caresses, ratified the treaty which his father had made with the people of Liege; though he well knew it had been suggested to Charles by resentment at the reception which the duke of Burgundy had afforded him; and although he had engaged to that prince not only to annul the treaty, but to join his army against the Liegeois. With a greater degree of consistency, with an avowed contempt for the measures of his father, the ministers of the late monarch were ignominiously dismissed; the count of Dammartin was committed to the Bastille; and the duke of Alencon, who had been imprisoned for his treasonable practices against Charles the Seventh, was immediately released: Yet the new monarch punished an insurrection of the citizens of Rheims, against his own authority, with the most exemplary severity.

Some troops which Lewis had granted to the distress of Margaret of Anjou, consort of Henry the Sixth of England, and for which he had stipulated the restoration of Calais if that princess proved successful, were defeated, and Breze, seneschal of Normandy, who commanded, escaped with difficulty. But the succours which he sent to the assistance of John, king of Arragon, whose subjects had shaken off their allegiance to a prince stained with the blood of his own son, were accompanied by that fortune which the guilty cause they had espoused but ill deserved. With his forces, Lewis had lent to that monarch the sum of three hundred thousand crowns; and the important counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, subject to redemption, were transferred to him as the security for the money he had advanced.

The kingdom of Naples, which formerly belonged to the house of Anjou, had been usurped by that of Arragon, and was now possessed by Ferdinand, a natural

A. D.

1462, 1465.

natural son of Alphonso, the late king. The duke of Calabria, the son of Reignier, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretensions. In the fruitless hope of restoring his kinsman, and to incline the pope to the enterprise, Lewis revoked the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been established by his father. But Pius the Second, whose nephew was married to the daughter of Ferdinand, still refused to sanction the claim of the duke of Calabria; and the king of France, to escape the charge of levity, and yet to avoid being duped by the arts of the pontiff, suffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had solemnly cancelled.

Some differences between the crowns of France and Castile were productive of an interview between the two monarchs, Lewis, and Henry the Fourth, surnamed the Impotent. They met at Mauléon, on the confines of the kingdom of Navarre; and their different dispositions were evinced by their contrasted appearance. Henry, vain, magnificent, and haughty, was attended by a splendid train; Lewis, mean in his person, clad in coarse cloth short and unbecoming, a leaden image of the Virgin in his bonnet, was slenderly accompanied; but the wealth the former had expended in his sumptuous preparations, the latter employed to bribe the ministers of Castile and Arragon; and the two kings, after a fruitless conference, returned with a thorough contempt of the fordidness of the one and the incapacity of the other.

With better success Lewis entered into a negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, to procure the restitution of those towns on the river Somme which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at the treaty of Arras; and which, in effect, made Philip master of Picardy. The measure was opposed by
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the count of Charolois ; but the king of France had corrupted John de Croy, the minister of the duke : His influence prevailed ; and four hundred thousand crowns were given to recover these valuable pledges ; yet with them he insured the lasting enmity of the count, who ever afterwards regarded Lewis with jealousy and hatred. Even in this transaction, the duplicity of that monarch was studiously displayed : He had agreed to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of these towns ; but no sooner was he in possession than he displaced them, and at the same time nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

A prince who professes to deceive must be universally suspected ; and when to these crooked arts was united a presumption founded on the facility with which he had hitherto accomplished his projects, his danger must be proportioned to the power of those whom he has over-reached and oppressed. Arthur, the late duke of Brittany, and constable of France, was succeeded in that duchy by Francis, a weak but treacherous prince, whose imbecility was supplied by the abilities of his ministers. Lewis, who held him in contempt, had insulted him by mandates of the most despotic nature. He forbade him to levy any taxes in his dominions ; to coin money ; or to term himself " Duke by the grace of God." And Francis, unable singly to oppose the arrogance of Lewis, by the advice of his council, affected to submit, while he privately negotiated a confederacy which threatened to subvert the throne of his oppressor.

The nobles of France had been equally bruised by the iron sway of their sovereign ; the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, respected for his years and virtues, had presumed to remonstrate against his arbitrary measures. The injurious reproaches of Lewis affected a mind too sensible of dishonour ; and two days after, the duke of Orleans

leans sunk into the grave beneath the pressure of unmerited insult. His death affected not the relentless heart of his royal kinsman; whose resentment was perpetuated by abandoning the pretensions of the house of Orleans to the duchy of Milan, and entering into an alliance with Francisco Sforza, who had usurped these dominions.

The count of Charolois openly complained that the perfidy of the king of France had been directed to seize his own person, and that of his father, the duke of Burgundy. To these princes the duke of Brittany closely united himself; the confederacy was swelled by the accession of the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the counts of Dunois and St. Pol, and the count of Dammartin, who had escaped from his imprisonment. The secret, which was imparted to near five hundred persons, was preserved inviolably; and the duke of Berri, the king's brother, soon joined the conspirators; who, to describe their views, assumed the lofty distinction of the League for the public Good.

The duke of Brittany, to fortify his hopes, had entered into an alliance with Edward the Fourth, who at that time occupied the throne of England; and the king of France, secure and unsuspecting of the storm which was gathering, resolved to press the submission of his vassal by the most vigorous measures. Under the pretence of a pilgrimage, he advanced to Poitou, a situation convenient for his projected invasion of Brittany. But from this design he was recalled to provide for his own defence; the escape of the duke of Berri was the signal for open hostilities; and while the duke of Brittany entered France on one side, the count of Charolois on the other passed the Somme, and rapidly advanced towards Paris.

Amidst this alarming concurrence of circumstances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and

and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared: To prevent the junction of the Bretons and Burgundians, he diligently pointed his march towards the capital, which was already insulted by the hostile arms of the count of Charolois. On the intelligence of the king's approach, that prince advanced to Montleheri, about eight leagues beyond that city. But while he anxiously awaited there the arrival of his confederates, the presence of the royal army compelled him to hazard an action, singly and unsupported. The suspicions of Lewis, always lively, and now particularly aroused by the consciousness of his own perfidious arts, and by the numbers who daily deserted him, were extended to Breze, seneschal of Normandy, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of his army. He eagerly demanded of that leader, whether he had not subscribed the league of his enemies? "They have indeed," answered Breze, "my handwriting; but my body is your majesty's." To efface the doubts of Lewis, the seneschal determined immediately to engage: With the vanguard he drew so near the count of Charolois, that a battle was inevitable; and the king, unable to retire without disgrace, was reluctantly induced to give the signal of attack.

The battle of Montleheri was obstinately disputed for above five hours; the field presented a scene of confused carnage, without either skill or order; the count of Charolois here first displayed that impetuous courage which ever after characterised him through life; and the king, cool and intrepid amidst the dangers which surrounded him, extorted even from his adversaries the admiration of his personal valour. Yet the efforts of the leaders were but ill seconded by their troops; and struck with a sudden panic, the greatest part of both armies deserted the conflict. On the side of Lewis perished
Breze

Breze himself, and about fifteen hundred men; the loss of the count of Charolois was nearly equal: But that prince, though wounded in the throat, still kept the field, and claimed the victory; while Lewis, anxious to preserve the metropolis, and distrustful of the attachment of its citizens, hastily decamped, and entered Paris.

The attention of the king of France was immediately directed to secure the affections of the inhabitants of his capital. He endeavoured to insinuate himself into their bosoms by that pliability of address of which he was so eminently master; he adopted manners the most engaging and popular; he courted the wives and daughters of the mechanics; he promised a repeal of every burdensome or extraordinary impost; and he extended several acts of grace to retain them in their allegiance. In the mean time the duke of Brittany had joined the count of Charolois; and the confederates, swelled to a host of one hundred thousand men, among whom were five hundred Swiss, the first ever seen in France, swept the open country, and encamped in the villages adjacent to Paris. But they in vain attempted to gain possession of that city by blockade, by famine, and by intrigue; constant supplies were introduced by the rivers the Maine, the Yonne, and the Seine; and the hopes of insurrection were baffled by the prudence and vigilance of Lewis. Terms of accommodation succeeded a fruitless siege; a conference was proposed and agreed upon between the king of France and the count of Charolois; and in a treaty that prince obtained for himself and his next heir the towns upon the Somme, which had already been ransomed; and the districts of Boulogne, Guisne, Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, as a perpetual inheritance. In a separate and subsequent treaty, the rest of the confederates were gratified in their demands; Charles, the brother of the king, received the

the duchy of Normandy, which Lewis more readily granted, as he was already apprised of the revolt of Rouen. To the duke of Bourbon was allotted Donchery, several lordships in Auvergne, and a hundred thousand crowns. The duke of Brittany acquired Montfort and Estampes; the count of Dunois occupied his former military posts; the count of St. Pol was invested with the sword of constable; and Anthony de Chabannes, count of Damartin, was restored to his estate, and soon became an acknowledged favourite of his sovereign. The league thus broken, each member of it returned to his respective dominions or castles; while the king, the moment he had signed, protested against the treaty, in the presence of several confidential members of the parliament of Paris, as contrary to the interests of the crown; and held himself in readiness to improve each favourable moment, and singly to crush those opponents, to whose united force he had reluctantly submitted.

The count of Charolois had consented to an accommodation with Lewis, that he might exert his entire strength against the rebellious inhabitants of Liege; Edward the Fourth of England was scarce confirmed on his throne, which he had ascended by the expulsion of the House of Lancaster; the king of France therefore seized the ready opportunity to shake off the fetters which the late treaties had imposed. He gained the duke of Bourbon, the most able and moderate of the confederates, by a specious acknowledgment that his deserts had not hitherto been properly considered, and by bestowing on him the hand of Jane, his natural daughter, with the dowry of Usson in Auvergne, and Moras, Beaurepaire, and Cornillon, in Dauphine; while the discontents between the dukes of Brittany and Normandy enabled him to secure the
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neutrality of the former, and to recover what he had unwillingly ceded to the latter.

Charles, duke of Normandy, timid in his disposition and feeble in his mind, had abandoned himself to counsellors equally weak and sordid. These soon embroiled him with his royal brother; and Lewis, vigorous and rapid in his movements, entered the province he had so lately yielded, and made himself master of Vernon, Gisors, Gournay, and Louviers, Rouen soon opened her gates and implored his mercy; and Charles, destitute of resources and allies, deprived of both his titles of Normandy and Perri, was forced to seek a doubtful shelter from the storm in the court of the duke of Brittany, and even to sell his plate to procure a wretched subsistence.

To attach his interests to the House of Anjou, the king of France presented to the duke of Calabria the sum of twenty-four thousand livres; but at the same time he severely punished the count of Maine, whom he discovered to have held a secret correspondence with the confederates. The effects of hope and fear, which so entirely influence the human mind, were successfully excited by the policy of Lewis; who liberally rewarded his adherents, and chastised with exemplary rigour his adversaries. Yet when prudence dictated, he could disguise his resentments, nor suffered passion to interfere with his interest. Lewis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, had distinguished himself at the battle of Montlehery as an active and enterprising general; and as a zealous partizan of the league; he had afterwards extorted from the king the sword of constable; but Lewis, sensible of his abilities and splendid connexions, determined if possible to detach him from the House of Burgundy, and to secure his future fidelity by a marriage with Mary of Savoy, the sister of his queen.

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The death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, whose justice, beneficence, and paternal attention to his people had acquired him the surname of *Good*, devolved his spacious dominions on his son Charles, count of Charolois : That prince, of fiery and impetuous manners, bold in action, patient of fatigue, and daring in his designs, had already humbled the rebellious people of Liege ; he had reluctantly suffered the brother of the king to be dispossessed of the duchy of Normandy, and had beheld with a lively jealousy of the growing power of France, the tardy and ineffectual efforts of the duke of Brittany to restore him. With Francis he had entered into a secret treaty ; but the Bretons were already driven from the posts they had occupied in Normandy before the duke of Burgundy had occupied the Somme ; and the king dreading the confederacy of those powerful neighbours concluded an instant peace with the duke of Brittany ; consented to allow his brother the duke of Normandy, but who was now simply stiled *Monseigneur*, an income sufficient to the dignity of his birth ; and desirous of availing himself of his superior address in negotiation, he determined on a personal interview with the duke of Burgundy.

Peronne, a town of Picardy, and in the possession of the duke of Burgundy, was appointed as a place of conference ; and Lewis, attended by a slender train, and accompanied only by cardinal Balue, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable the count de St. Pol, entered the hostile walls. Intent on deceiving his rival, and improvident of his own security, he committed himself to the faith of a prince whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude ; even common prudence seems for a moment to have deserted a bosom lately occupied by suspicion, and a mind which reemed with every wily stratagem. The duke of Burgundy received

ceived the king with every mark of distinction, and lodged him in the town of Peronne ; but the concourse of Burgundian lords and other persons of rank, the avowed enemies of Lewis, who daily arrived, awaked too late the apprehensions of that monarch ; his fears plunged him into an error still more dangerous than that which his presumption had suggested ; for his immediate security, he requested he might have apartments assigned him in the castle ; and thus voluntarily delivered himself a prisoner at the discretion of Charles.

Previous to the interview the king, whose grand object was to keep the duke of Burgundy constantly employed in domestic wars, had sent agents privately to Liege, to induce the inhabitants to resume their arms by a promise of protection ; Whether intent on higher designs his memory betrayed him, or that he did not expect the consequence of his intrigues would be instantaneous, the danger that might result from these practices appears not to have been the object of a moment's consideration. Inflamed by his arts, a considerable number of the Liegeois assembled privately at Tongres, where the bishop of Liege and the lord D'Himbercourt, a Burgundian officer of high estimation, were quartered with two thousand men ; the conspirators suddenly surprised the town, captured the bishop and the governor, massacred part of their train, and after satiating themselves with slaughter, retired with their prisoners to Liege.

The intelligence was quickly conveyed to the duke of Burgundy ; and it was added, that the ambassadors of the king of France had appeared in person, animating the insurgents. The passions of Charles, always impetuous, were on this occasion heightened to fury. In a transport of rage, he reproached Lewis with his breach of faith, commanded the gates of the castle to be shut and strictly guarded,

and

and denounced vengeance against the perfidious monarch who had deceived him. While Charles concerted what measures to pursue with the ministers he most confided in, the cause of his violence reached the ears of the king of France. Lewis, naturally timid and irresolute, in the hands of his mortal enemy whom he had deeply offended, surrounded with people who detested him, and shut up in a chamber at a fort of that very town where Herbert, count of Vermandois had confined Charles the Simple, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. Yet in this dangerous crisis his art never forsook him; he distributed large sums of money among those officers whose opinions were most likely to influence the duke of Burgundy, and endeavoured by splendid promises to allay the resentment of his enemies, and to confirm the attachment of his friends. Three days he passed in a state of painful suspense, while Charles, without deigning to visit him, maintained an indignant silence. At length the rage of that prince gradually subsided; and on the fourth morning he proposed to the king the conditions which he had fixed as the price of his freedom.

These differed but little from those which composed the former treaty; but the friendship of the duke stipulated for Charles, the brother of the king, the counties of Champagne and Brie, in lieu of the duchy of Normandy, of which he had been despoiled; and his resentment insisted on the presence of Lewis, while he avenged the late massacre at Tongres, and chastised the revolt of the inhabitants of Liege. The two princes immediately formed the siege of that city; the walls had been partly destroyed in the assault of the preceding year; but the breaches, which had been neglected by the confidence, were defended by the despair of the citizens, enamoured of freedom, and hopeless of pardon. The marshal of Burgundy, who had pressed
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forward as to a certain victory, was admonished to respect the steady valour of the inhabitants, who crowded through their gates to encounter him. In a more daring sally, the Liegeois penetrated to the very quarters of the king of France and the duke of Burgundy : For a moment, the destruction of Lewis and Charles appeared inevitable ; and it was not without the most strenuous efforts of personal prowess, that they at length repelled their enemies. But the animated effusions of enthusiasm soon sunk before the increasing numbers and incessant attacks of the besiegers ; Liege was carried by storm ; the city was devoted to the flames ; and the citizens effaced by their blood the cruelties which they had practised at Tongres.

Lewis had been compelled to contribute his assistance to the reduction of the unhappy people whom he had excited to revolt, and to witness the punishment of a crime which he himself had suggested. He was now permitted to return to France ; but before he quitted the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, he enquired of that prince what conduct he expected to pursue if his brother should not be satisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie ? “ In that case,” replied Charles, “ I shall withdraw all future mediation, and leave you to accommodate your own differences.” An important answer, which was hastily given, and which the king of France received with pleasure, and soon converted to his advantage.

A. D. 1469, 1471. The situation of Champagne and Brie, in the vicinity of the Burgundian dominions, would have infallibly cemented the alliance between the two dukes ; and Lewis had no sooner arrived at Paris than he exerted his abilities and address to prevail on his brother to accept in exchange the county of Guienne. That prince, weak, and deceived by the marks of kindness which the king

king affected towards him, complied with the proposal, and changed his title of duke of Normandy to assume that of Guienne. But convinced when it was too late of the error he had committed, and allured by the hopes of a marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of and heiress to the vast possessions of Charles, he began to renew his confederacy with that prince and the duke of Brittany. Before their measures were ripe, Lewis himself had determined on open hostilities: He had reluctantly yielded the towns of the Somme, which exposed Picardy to the controul of his rival; and he now prepared to recover by arms what he had lost by his imprudence. As a peer of France, the duke of Burgundy was summoned to the parliament of Paris; and on his refusal, the constable St. Pol invested and possessed himself of St. Quintin. Amiens, Roie, and Mondidier soon after opened their gates to the French; and Charles was less dismayed by these cities than by the defection of his natural brother, Baldwin, whose fidelity Lewis had corrupted. Uncertain whom to trust, and doubtful of the event of war, the haughty disposition of Charles condescended to solicit a peace: To enforce his proposal, he crossed the Somme with a numerous army; and Lewis, swayed by his natural resolution, consented to a truce for a year.

When the king of France first resolved to attack the duke of Burgundy, he was encouraged in that enterprize by a new revolution in England. The earl of Warwic, whose valour and popularity had contributed so eminently to raise Edward the Fourth to the throne, had quitted the cause of that prince in disgust, and espoused the claim of Henry the Sixth, from whose feeble hand he had formerly wrested the sceptre. Charles of Burgundy had married the sister of Edward; and Lewis, impelled by his natural enmity to the allies

and connections of Charles, furnished Warwic with a fleet to escort him, and granted him a supply of men and money. That nobleman landed at Dartmouth; and the spirit of discontent soon swelled his martial train to an army of sixty thousand men: Near Nottingham, the camp of Edward was betrayed by the secret adherents of the house of Lancaster, and the partizans of Warwic. Edward himself, amidst the confusion of a nocturnal tumult, eluded the search of his enemies, and with a small reinue fled to Lynn in Norfolk; there he fortunately found some ships ready, in which he embarked, and escaped with difficulty into the port of Alkmaer in Holland.

But the hopes which Lewis might entertain from the restoration of Henry the Sixth, were soon dissipated by a second revolution equally rapid and extraordinary. Although the repeated information which Charles had conveyed to his brother-in-law of the designs of Warwic had been disregarded, yet interest and inclination prompted him to make some efforts in the support of so near a kinsman; and he dreaded lest Henry and Lewis should overwhelm him with their united arms: He determined however to conceal his preparations as much as possible, and if unsuccessful to disavow them. Four large vessels were equipped at Terver in Zealand; and fourteen ships were secretly hired from the Hanseatic League; a confederacy which originated with the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, and which afterwards included eighty considerable cities, scattered through those countries that stretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine. With this small squadron Edward, impatient for revenge, steered towards England: After an ineffectual attempt on the coast of Norfolk, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire; he soon obtained possession of the city of York; and by the accession of his adherents

rents found himself at the head of a formidable army. By secret and rapid marches he evaded the forces of Warwic, posted near Leicester; presented himself at the gates, and was received by the citizens of London. In the battle of Barnet he defeated Warwic, who perished in the field; in a second action near Tewkesbury he again triumphed over the Lancastrians; and the murder of Henry the Sixth, and his only son, seemed to extinguish the hopes of that party, and finally to secure the crown to the house of York.

The success of his brother-in-law revived the ambition of the duke of Burgundy; he resumed his negotiations with the king of England, the duke of Brittany, and the duke of Guienne. The latter prince was again allured by the hopes of marrying Margaret of Burgundy: But while the designs of the confederates presented the fairest prospect, it was again overcast by the sudden and mysterious death of the duke of Guienne; an event so fortunate for Lewis as to occasion an universal suspicion of his having hastened it by poison. A variety of circumstances combined with the character of Lewis to confirm the public opinion. The abbot of St. John d'Angeli, on whom the general voice had fixed as the instrument of this atrocious deed, was found in the morning appointed for his trial strangled, and lying dead in his cell; and it was commonly believed that the king had not hesitated to conceal the first crime by the perpetration of a second. With a conduct equally dark and designing, he procured documents tending to trace the authors of his brother's fate to be brought to him; he even appointed commissioners to enter upon their examination; but this tribunal was not allowed to come to any decision, although the members of it were rewarded by Lewis, who eagerly seized Guienne, and re-united it to the crown of France.

A. D. 1472.

The indignation and resentment of the duke of Burgundy was again aroused by the deplorable and unexpected death of his ally; he entered Picardy with an army, determined to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy subjects of the unnatural Lewis, and to sacrifice to the memory of the duke of Guienne every inhabitant who fell into his power. The unfortunate citizens of Nefle were the first to encounter his fury, and were involved in a promiscuous massacre, without respect to sex or age. But Beauvais, confident in her walls and the strength of her garrison, derided his menaces, and repulsed his attacks; while Charles, disappointed in this attempt, raised the hopeless siege, entered the country of Caux, seized the cities of Eu and St. Valery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his devastations as far as the gates of Rouen.

Lewis, uniform and constant in his designs, had, during the invasion of his furious rival, encamped on the frontiers of Brittany, determined to dissolve the league between Francis and Edward the Fourth. The latter prince, occupied in the internal regulation of his own kingdom, was deterred from affording that ready succour which his allies required; and the duke of Brittany, unable to face the royal army of Lewis, subscribed a truce for a year. His example was followed by the duke of Burgundy, whose impolitic violence in destroying the open country had proved fatal to his own designs, and compelled him for want of subsistence to retire to his own dominions, and to agree to a cessation of hostilities.

A. D. 1473. This interval from war was diligently employed by each prince in endeavours to increase the number of his own adherents, and to corrupt those of his adversary. Of the nobles of France, Lewis of Luxembourg, count de St. Pol, and constable of that kingdom, claimed the pre-eminence in power and abilities: His territories lay between

between the king's and those of the duke of Burgundy; St. Quintin, Ham, and Bohain acknowledged his authority; and the revenue which he drew from his posts, and the martial train which he maintained, resembled rather the establishment of a sovereign than a subject. At the battle of Montleheri he had distinguished himself as one of the most active chiefs of the league; and though he had since preserved the external appearance of allegiance to Lewis, yet he never hesitated to engage in every rebellious negotiation. To reconcile some differences which had arisen between the king and himself, he had insulted the dignity of the crown by insisting on a personal conference; and at their interview he studiously affected to display his distrust by the precautions which he openly made use of, and the number of armed partizans by which he was attended. From this conference he retired, after vowing inviolable fidelity in future, to enter into fresh intrigues with Edward the Fourth of England, and with the duke of Burgundy.

Though Edward considered himself but little indebted to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which Charles had given him during his exile, yet policy induced these princes to maintain a close connection, and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion in France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and to invade the French territories; Charles promised to join him with all his forces. The king of England was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; the duke was to acquire Champagne, and some adjacent districts, and to free his dominions from homage; neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. The interest of the duke of Brittany they naturally concluded would induce him

to join their standard; and the count de St. Pol had secretly engaged to receive the English into St. Quintin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

A. D. 1474. The situation of Lewis was at least delicate if not dangerous; and he was preserved from the storm equally by his own dexterity and the indiscretion of his adversaries. The king of England had passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers; but the impatient temper of the duke of Burgundy could ill brook the necessary delay which attended the levying so formidable a force: Enamoured of new designs, he had already engaged in a quarrel with the whole Germanic body by laying siege to the town of Nuiz on the Rhine; and while he pertinaciously adhered to this enterprise, he in vain endeavoured in person to excuse his breach of treaty, and to extort the approbation of his ally to a measure so fatal to their mutual interests. Yet Edward advanced into Picardy, in expectation that the constable would at least have performed his promise, and delivered into his hands the town of St. Quintin; but St. Pol, by a double piece of treachery, deceived his allies, and enabled Lewis to dissolve a league, which if it had been strictly maintained, might have renewed the disastrous defeats of Crecy and Azincourt.

A. D. 1475. Lewis, sensible of his inability to oppose the confederates by arms, had recourse to artifice and negotiation, his usual engines: Swayed more by political views than the point of honour, he deemed no submissions too mean which might free him from his enemies. Edward, voluptuous and indolent, and dissatisfied with his allies, lent a ready ear to his proposals. The king of France stipulated to pay the king of England seventy-five thousand crowns, on his consenting immediately to repass

repaid the seas : To this condition was added another, which plainly proclaimed the ignominious badge of tribute ; fifty thousand crowns a year were settled on Edward for his life ; and the last article betrothed the dauphin when of age to the eldest daughter of the king of England. In vain did the duke of Burgundy loudly clamour against the injurious treaty ; Edward, unmoved by his reproaches, and Lewis indifferent to his menaces, ratified the peace at a personal interview at Pecquigny, near Amiens. Yet the lapse of successive years had not effaced the guilty conference of Montereau ; and the two monarchs in their preparations seem to have been actuated by a mutual distrust. In the middle of the bridge of Pecquigny, a grated barrier was erected, the intervals of which would only allow an arm to pass ; on opposite sides the two princes appeared ; and after conferring privately together, and confirming the articles of peace, they parted with liberal but hollow professions of reciprocal friendship and esteem.

Yet however the abject concessions of Lewis might degrade the dignity of the king of France, his soul on this occasion seemed not destitute of humanity ; and amidst a variety of interested intrigues, one action of genuine liberality commands our attention and admiration. Margaret, the unfortunate widow of Henry the Sixth, was ransomed from Edward by Lewis for the sum of fifty thousand crowns ; and that princess, after having experienced so many vicissitudes of life, after having beheld the untimely fate of her husband, her son, and the noble followers of her fortune, found a safe asylum in France, where she passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy.

Although Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince a power of acceding to the

reaty

treaty of Pecquigny ; but Charles, naturally haughty, replied that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after the return of Edward into his own country. To this resolution he adhered ; but that period was no sooner elapsed than he negotiated and concluded a truce for nine years.

When these princes agreed to suspend their active enmity for so long a term, the public articles they subscribed contained only mutual stipulations for the common advantages of their subjects ; but in private they had signed an agreement of different import. The perfidy of the count de St. Pol had rendered him odious to all parties, and his ruin was secretly determined ; on the first intelligence of the implacable resentment of Lewis, the constable, confounded and irresolute, had fled to Mons in Hainault. But the duke of Burgundy had already consented to deliver him up ; and the count de St. Pol, after a hasty trial, was condemned, and executed on a public scaffold. His fate was the merited consequence of his repeated acts of perfidy and ingratitude ; yet the composure and undaunted courage with which he encountered death, effaced the remembrance of his guilt ; and posterity has not failed to brand the avarice and rapacity of Charles of Burgundy, who stipulated the estates and moveables of St. Pol as the price of the unhappy fugitive whom he betrayed.

CHAPTER

C H A P. XX.

Wars of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.—Death of that prince.—Burgundy and Artois re-annexed to the crown of France.—Acquisition of Provence.—Death of Lewis the Eleventh.—Sketch of the Constitution of France from the accession of Hugh Capet to the death of Lewis the Eleventh.

LEWIS had effectually extinguished the enmity or ambition of the king of England by a servile compliance with the demand of tribute, which he in vain endeavoured to disguise under the name of a pension; he had compelled the duke of Brittany to subscribe a new and separate treaty, by which he renounced all alliances with the enemies of France; by the execution of the count de St. Pol he had struck terror into the seditious vassals of the crown; but the duke of Burgundy was still a rival, whose growing greatness haunted his imagination, and claimed his constant attention. That prince had lately reduced the city of Nancy, and added the country of Lorrain to his former dominions. But Charles possessed the courage and ambition of a conqueror, without the prudence or policy of a statesman: Ever ardent in his enterprises, his restless disposition on some imaginary insult precipitated him against the Swiss, a virtuous and hardy people,

A. D. 1476.

people, who had purchased their freedom by the boldest opposition to Austrian tyranny, and who cherished it with an enthusiastic affection amidst their lakes and mountains.

The Swiss in vain attempted to deprecate the wrath of Charles by the most humble applications for peace; in vain did they offer to abandon all alliances that were contrary to his interest, and for a small subsidy to supply him with a body of six thousand men to serve indiscriminately against his enemies. Charles was deaf to every proposal, however submissive or advantageous; he entered a bleak and mountainous country, which only could recompence his hazard and toils with barren laurels. After reducing some inconsiderable places he laid siege to Granfon: That town was defended by the obstinate valour of seven or eight hundred Swiss, zealous in the cause of their country, and resolute to vindicate their liberty. The cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Zurich, armed in their behalf: But Granfon had surrendered at discretion, and the garrison had already been sacrificed to the resentment of Charles, before the confederates could arrive. The duke of Burgundy, after this example of severity, might have maintained the advantageous post he had occupied, and derided the efforts of his enemies, whom poverty must soon have compelled to disperse. But he obstinately rejected the advice of his most experienced officers, and pressed forwards to the fatal conflict. Confiding in the superior numbers and discipline of an army, which is represented as amounting to fifty thousand men, he precipitately entered the defiles of the mountains, and was encountered and defeated by scarce ten thousand Swiss, hastily collected and rudely armed, but animated by an invincible love of freedom. Yet the Swiss, destitute of cavalry, were unable to continue the pursuit, and improve the advantage. In the action of

Granfon,

Granſon, the duke of Burgundy loſt only ſeven men at arms ; but his military cheſt, his ſuperb plate, and his jewels, the moſt ſplendid in Europe, were the prey of the victors ; and the Swiſs were firſt taught the value of riches from the magnificent ſpoils of the field.

A mind elated by conſtant proſperity could ill ſubmit to the iron ſcourge of adverſity ; the diſappointment of Charles was attended by a ſevere indiſpoſition : But he could ſcarce raiſe himſelf from the couch of ſickneſs before he reſumed his arms, and prepared to efface the ſhame of his late defeat. By language the moſt ſubmiſſive, and by profeſſions the moſt lavish, he endeavoured to ſecure the neutrality of the king of France : That monarch, though he affected to behold with unconcern, diligently watched the meaſures of his rival. Wary and cautious, he ſtill declined to engage in open hoſtilities ; but with his gold he nurſed the hopes, and fortified the independent ſpirits of the Swiſs ; while Charles, inacceſſible to council, and bent on deſtruction, re-aſſembled his ſcattered forces ; and in four months from the defeat of Granſon, with an army of twenty-three thouſand men, he inveſted Morat, a ſmall town near the city of Berne.

The Swiſs, reinforced by the confederate cities of Germany, might compoſe a body of thirty thouſand men : Their valour was directed by the experience of Rene, duke of Lorrain, whoſe territories the duke of Burgundy had ſeized, and who was now inſpired with a thirſt of vengeance, and the hopes of returning dominion. Charles, on intelligence of their approach, raiſed the ſiege of Morat, and advanced to meet them. But his impetuouſity was ill-ſeconded by his troops ; the ſteady courage of the Swiſs triumphed over all obſtacles ; a body of four thouſand horſe compleated the confuſion of the vanquiſhed ; and eighteen thouſand Burgundians were ſuppoſed

supposed to have perished in the battle of Morat: The duke of Burgundy himself continued his flight beyond the mountains; and it was not till he arrived at St. Claud, that he considered himself in safety.

The actions of Granfon and Morat convinced Lewis that he could not more effectually achieve the destruction of the duke than by abandoning him to his own unbridled passions, and to the war against the Swifs, which he still persevered in with incredible obstinacy. The late defeats had cooled the ardour of his allies, and confirmed the confidence of his enemies; the duke of Lorraine had recovered the city of Nancy, and great part of his dominions; while Charles overwhelmed with shame and indignation, passed his melancholy hours at le Riviere, and secluded himself almost from the sight of his most confidential ministers.

But the loss of Nancy roused him from his lethargy; and those efforts which might have preserved that city he determined on too late to recover it. He invested it with a third army against the advice of his most experienced officers; but Charles, conscious of his own breach of faith to the count de St. Pol, had ever since the death of that nobleman been distrustful of his subjects, and endeavoured to secure his person by the attachments of foreigners. Among these, the count de Campobasso, a native of Naples, and exiled thence as a partizan of the House of Anjou, held the principal place in his favour. Whatever motives might stimulate him, Campobasso repaid the kindness of the duke with the blackest ingratitude and basest treason; it is obscurely hinted that he once suffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles, the indignity of a blow; but all historians agree, that he repeatedly offered to the king of France to deliver up to him his master, alive or dead. Though Lewis was but little scrupulous in the measures which he adopted, he abhorred a treachery

chery which dissolved all ties between the prince and his servant; he even revealed the design to the duke of Burgundy: But the character of Lewis induced even Charles to despise the intelligence. "If it were even true, the king would never impart to me so important a secret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapolitan.

The duke of Burgundy was still occupied in the siege of Nancy, which he pressed, regardless of the inclemency of winter, when he was alarmed by the approach of a numerous army of Germans, commanded by the duke of Lorraine, who diligently advanced to the relief of his capital. Charles quitted his entrenchments to meet his enemies; his army, scarce amounting to four thousand men, harrassed by incessant service, and dispirited by former defeats, was soon broken by the superior number of the Germans. Charles himself fought with the most heroic courage, and exposed his person wherever the danger was most conspicuous; when the rout became general, he was borne away in the flight. Campobasso, who had deserted previous to the action with about eighty men at arms, left twelve or fifteen men about the duke's person, with a strict command to assassinate him amidst the tumult: These executed their detestable commission too faithfully; and two days afterwards the body of Charles was found dead, naked, and frozen; and pierced with three wounds.

Thus fell the last male heir of the house of Burgundy, a victim to his ill-concerted enterprises and presumptuous courage. Lewis, sensible of his danger and anxious for his fate, at the moment of his death, was at his favourite residence of Plessis le Tours; he received the intelligence with immoderate joy; and the liberal recompence he bestowed on the messenger proclaimed his unbounded transports

ports at the destruction of his rival. The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering prospect to his ambition: That prince left behind him an empty treasury, a feeble council, and an army without courage or discipline. His only daughter, Mary, had not yet attained her twentieth year; and during the life of her father she had been successively promised to several different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. Several of the provinces which Mary inherited had been dismembered from the kingdom of France; and the dominions of Lewis, which stretched along the frontier of her territories, pointed out to his hopes the favourable moment of aggrandisement.

That he might be able to exert his whole force on this occasion, he refused to support the pretensions of the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and whom he had compelled to marry Jane, his youngest daughter, a princess ignorant, deformed, and deemed incapable of bearing children. The untimely fate of Galeas, duke of Milan, who was assassinated in the midst of his guards, seemed to open a desirable opportunity for the duke of Orleans to substantiate the claims to that duchy, which he derived from his grandmother Valentina Visconti; but Lewis, whose natural jealousy would probably have prevented him from countenancing the measure, was now solely engrossed by the expectation of uniting to his crown the dominions of the house of Burgundy. Two paths presented themselves to his view: The first was the marriage of the dauphin, the second that of the count of Angoulême, a prince of the blood, with the daughter of the late duke. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to his own, and rendered France the most powerful monarchy in Europe; but one obstacle intervened in the disparity of age between the dauphin, then only eight years

old,

old, and Mary, who was already twenty. The Flemings also regarded with distrust the choice of a master possessed of such resources as might enable him to oppress their liberties; and the dread of whose government was increased by the odious maxims which he publicly professed. From these objections the count of Angoulême was free; and Mary herself had discovered some inclination to bestow her hand on that prince. By this marriage Lewis would have prevented her dominions from being conveyed to a rival power; and in return for the splendid establishment which the count of Angoulême would obtain, he might have stipulated concessions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But that monarch had been so long accustomed to tread the crooked paths of insidious policy, that he despised the plain and open road; and whether actuated by the dread of aggrandising a subject, or his unrelenting detestation of the race of Burgundy, he adopted a course less likely to succeed, but better adapted to his genius, and more consistent with his disposition.

While he amused Mary with insisting on the impracticable match with the dauphin, he proposed to render himself, by force of arms, master of her dominions. He addressed circular letters to the principal cities of the duchy, representing that Burgundy had only been given by king John to the male heirs of his son Philip, and that it now consequently reverted to the crown. Though he was sensible that this plea could impose on none, yet he was satisfied that it might afford an excuse to those whom the more persuasive arguments of interest should allure to his standard. The governors of the towns were corrupted to desert their sovereign; the inhabitants were induced to rise against those governors who preserved their allegiance; and upon the approach of Lewis, Ham, Peronne, St. Quintin, Roi, Montdidier, Vervins, and Landrecy, opened their gates

to him. The states assembled at Dijon were summoned to yield obedience to the king; these complied upon the express condition, that a general amnesty should be granted to all those who had served the late duke, or who were still attached to the princess his daughter; and that the king should evacuate the duchy in case Charles, their rightful prince, again appeared; a stipulation founded on a report which was eagerly circulated, that Charles had escaped the disastrous field of Nancy, and had retired to Jerusalem to pass the remainder of his days in solitude and penitence.

The province of Artois was subdued by the same means as the county of Burgundy; but Flanders resisted the arms and arts of the king of France. Oliver le Dain, who though at first only barber to Lewis, soon acquired the confidence of that monarch, held intelligence with the inhabitants of Ghent; but disappointed in his hopes of exciting these to revolt against Mary, he retired precipitately to Tournay, whose citizens readily listened to his splendid promises, and opened their gates to a detachment of the French. Meanwhile Dammartin, grand master to Lewis, surprised and levelled Avesne to the ground, burnt Cassel, and ravaged the open country with that spirit of devastation which could only be suggested by his unfeeling sovereign.

Nor were the talents and industry of Lewis less displayed in the cabinet than in the field. His practices unfold a series of the meanest falsehood, and the deepest treachery. He negotiated with Mary; and in order to render her odious to her subjects, he betrayed to them her most important secrets; he carried on a private correspondence with the two ministers whom she chiefly trusted, and then communicated the letters which he had received from them to the states of Flanders; who enraged at their perfidy, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them

them with extreme cruelty, and unmoved by the tears and entreaties of their sovereign, who knew and approved of all that the ministers had done, they beheaded them in her presence.

But the perfidy which Lewis practised against the ministers, and the fury with which he ravaged the fertile fields of the Flemings, instead of subduing, served only to confirm the aversion of that people to his government; and Mary, with the approbation of the States of Flanders, bestowed her hand and noble inheritance on Maximilian, archduke of Austria, and son of the emperor Frederick the Third; while the king of France, alarmed at having thus unexpectedly aggrandized a rival power, endeavoured to counterbalance the error by an alliance with Edward the Fourth of England. He had previously infected that monarch, who was frequently actuated by passions unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman, with a jealousy of his brother Clarence; this had induced the king of England to neglect the advances which were made of marrying Clarence to Mary of Burgundy, and inclined him to behold with indifference the conquest of Lewis over that country; he now consented to convert the truce formerly concluded into a solid peace, which was to continue during the life of the two kings, and for a year after.

The independence of Flanders was fortified by the union of Maximilian with A. D. 1478, Mary; and by the return of the prince of Orange to the party of that princess, the flames of war were again extended to the cities of Burgundy. The French were expelled from several considerable towns; and Lewis had reason hourly to apprehend the entire revolt of that country, when his fears were dissipated by unexpected overtures of peace from Maximilian. The commissioners of the two monarchs concluded a truce at Lens, without expressing any term for its duration, and without including

the county of Burgundy, which was soon again reduced by the arms of Lewis.

This suspension of public hostilities could scarce be called a state of tranquillity to the unhappy subjects of France ; with his years the sanguinary dispositions of Lewis increased ; he had nourished an incessant desire of vengeance against James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the first noblemen in the kingdom, and who had appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League for the public Good.*" The authority of the sovereign gradually extended, no longer knew any bounds but his own will ; the execution of the count de St. Pol had broken the spirits of the nobility of France ; and Lewis resolved to satiate his thirst of revenge on the duke of Nemours. That unfortunate nobleman, to avoid the resentment of his royal master, had retired to the fortrets of Carlat, among the mountains of Auvergne. He was there besieged by the seigneur de Beaujeu, who had married Anne, the daughter of Lewis ; But the situation of the castle rendered it almost inaccessible by force ; and the duke of Nemours received the most solemn assurances of safety, if he would surrender himself. Confiding in the honour of his enemy, he complied ; but the king, who sported with all the ties of virtue and society, caused him, in violation of his solemn compact, to be carried to the Bastile : He was confined within an iron cage, the familiar instrument of his sovereign's cruelty ; even the judges, who reluctantly condemned him to be beheaded, were reprimanded because they had released him from the narrow circle of his confinement during his examination. The inhumanity of the king extended beyond the sentence, to insult the offspring and embitter the last moments of the unhappy criminal ; By an unprecedented refinement in cruelty, he commanded the two sons of the duke, as yet in early childhood, and consequently incapable of

of any participation in the treason, to be placed directly under the scaffold ; where they were covered with the blood of their wretched father, which descended on their heads.

The concurring testimony of contemporary historians scarce allow us to credit the various barbarities which stamp with indelible infamy the reign of Lewis : Four thousand persons, without the form of trial, are supposed to have perished the unhappy victims of his bloody suspicions and resentments : Yet while we detest his cruelty, we are frequently compelled to acknowledge his firmness and sagacity. The wealth of the family of the Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent spirit of the first Cosmo gave him such an ascendancy over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preserved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth. A considerable degree of his power he transmitted to his descendants ; his grandsons, Laurence and Julian, had rendered themselves odious to pope Sixtus the Fourth ; and the holy successor of St. Peter did not hesitate to engage the envy of some citizens of Florence in a conspiracy against the lives of the Medici. The church was fixed on as the scene of action ; Julian perished by the daggers of the assassins ; but Laurence was preserved amidst the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the same moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their devastations to the gates of the city. The house of Medici, unequal to the contest, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the slave of the most abject superstition, asserted on this occasion the pretensions of Laurence against the Roman pontiff ; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual display of those arts for which she was celebrated, was compelled to recall her censures,

and yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

To secure more firmly the friendship of
A. D. 1479 England, Lewis contracted the dauphin to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth; while Maximilian, ardent and fickle in his enterprises, resumed his claim to Burgundy, and renewed the war before the expiration of the truce. A variety of desultory actions, and the mutual destruction of cities, can afford but little entertainment to the reader; the hostile armies at length engaged at Guinegate; the Flemings were broken by the impetuous charge of the French; but the victory was ravished from the latter by their own imprudence: While they heedlessly urged the pursuit, the infantry of the Flemings rallied, and returned to the charge; yet the field seems only to have been distinguished by the indiscriminate slaughter of both parties; and the king of France soon obtained a more decisive advantage at sea, by the capture of fourscore vessels belonging to the Flemings; a loss sensibly felt by a commercial people.

Their late disaster inclined the states of
A. D. 1480. Flanders to peace, and a truce was agreed to by Lewis, who previously terminated a languid and uninteresting war, which he had entered into with Ferdinand, king of Arragon. But nature was oppressed by this continual and unwearied application to business; and at a village near Chinon, in Touraine, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy. Two days he lay motionless and speechless; at the end of which time his voice and intellects returned, but not the health he had formerly enjoyed: Yet his indisposition prevented him not from adjusting the affairs of Savoy, and declaring himself the protector of his infant nephew Charles. With the same zeal he applied himself to establish the tranquil succession of his own son, by crushing the nobles
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who were most capable of resistance; he seized without a shadow of pretence the lands of the duke of Bourbon, the only prince who possessed qualities which could give him any jealousy; yet the dauphin, for whose future grandeur he so assiduously waded through seas of blood, he kept a sort of prisoner in the castle of Amboise, where none were permitted to approach him except servants and persons of the meanest condition; his own consort, whose patient and enduring attachment merited a better treatment, he banished into Savoy; and by his last will he expressly precluded her from any share in the government, and endeavoured to inspire his son with sentiments of distrust and aversion towards his mother.

The death of Charles, titular king of Naples, and the last prince of the second A. D.
1481, 1482. House of Anjou, added at this juncture the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in securing this new acquisition a second stroke of an apoplexy warned him of his approaching end. Yet he again revived; and allured by the death of Mary of Burgundy, who died by a fall from her horse in hunting, he resumed his ambitious intrigues. The fate of that princess opened the way to a pacification between the king of France and Maximilian; and the infant daughter of the latter was affianced to the son of the former.

But the king of England, whose principal views were directed to obtain splendid establishments for his daughters, and who had contracted his eldest, Elizabeth, to the dauphin, prepared to revenge by arms the breach of faith in Lewis. That monarch, with his usual art, endeavoured to avert the storm by inciting James, king of Scotland, to make war upon England. But James fell the victim to a conspiracy of his own nobles; and Edward, bursting from the silken bands of pleasure, pursued with diligence his preparations for the invasion of France, when

when his designs were broken by the sudden stroke of death, and his decease again plunged his country into all the miseries of civil commotion, from which it had enjoyed so short a respite.

But while the fortune of the king of A. D. 1483. France, who on every side beheld his enemies humbled and his power increased, was the envy of the neighbouring princes; the object of that envy was himself anxiously employed in the hopeless endeavour to prolong a miserable existence. Every resource of medicine was in vain exhausted; every benefit that could be derived from change of climate was in vain experienced; and Lewis, after ineffectually seeking rest through his spacious dominions, at last fixed his final residence at Pleffis les Tours. The walls of that castle were covered with iron spikes; a guard of cross bow-men watched the gates and ramparts night and day; and the guilty tyrant heard his enemies in every passing wind. Earth was in vain ransacked to revive his jaded appetites; heaven was in vain invoked with prayers and processions, to avert his impending doom; all hope was fled; and his favourite, Oliver le Dain, pronounced to him the sentence of certain and approaching dissolution; the king heard him without betraying any emotions of terror; he sent for his son Charles from Amboise, and employed his last moments in advising him to cherish the princes of his blood; to govern by the counsels of his nobles; to maintain the established laws of the kingdom; and to diminish the extraordinary imposts with which he had burdened his subjects. This last effort exhausted the strength of the fainting monarch; and after a reign of twenty-three years, which by the acquisition of Burgundy, Artois, and Provence, laid the foundation of the subsequent grandeur of France, Lewis, in the sixty-first year of his age, expired. Dreaded by his subjects, whom he had continually oppressed, and detested by his

his neighbours, whom he had assiduously deceived, he yet obtained from the discernment, or obsequious temper of the representative of St. Peter, the title of the Christian King; a title that has been invariably transmitted to his successors.

The dark and subtle character of Lewis the Eleventh is sufficiently illustrated by a review of his reign; but the arts by which he undermined the freedom of the people, humbled the pride of the nobility, established a standing army, and converted a limited into a despotic government, will, in tracing the constitution of France, become the object of our future enquiry. When that throne was occupied by Hugh Capet, the founder of the third race of kings, the royal authority had dwindled into contempt; the governors of provinces and of towns, and the great officers of the crown, had rendered those dignities, originally granted only during pleasure or for life, hereditary in their families. Each of these had usurped all the rights which had hitherto been deemed the distinctions of royalty; and every lord in his district pursued a distinct and separate interest. Scarce any common principle of union remained in a kingdom divided into so many independent baronies; and the general assembly, in its deliberations, could hardly consider the nation as forming one body, or establish common regulations to be of equal force in every part. The barons, the members of the supreme assembly, which soon after was distinguished by the name of the *States General*, avoided enacting any general laws, the execution of which must have been invested in the king, and would have enlarged that paramount power which was the object of their jealousy: They therefore tacitly relinquished the exercise of the legislative authority, and confined their jurisdiction to the imposition of new taxes, the determination of questions with respect to the right of succession to the crown,

crown, the settling the regency when the preceding monarch had not fixed it by will, and the presenting remonstrances enumerating the grievances of which the nation wished to obtain redress.

But as the kings of France, during some centuries, but seldom required extraordinary subsidies from their subjects, and as they were still less inclined to listen to the clamorous remonstrances of the States General, these assemblies were rarely summoned. The legislative authority, silently abandoned by the States, was assumed gradually by the crown : The descendants of Hugh Capet had indeed already promulgated their laws within their own immediate domains ; but the reign of Philip Augustus is marked by the first ordinance, which appears to have been an act of legislation extending to the whole kingdom. But it was the care of that monarch to allure his subjects to acquiesce by the prudent objects of his edicts ; from the mild tenor in which they were issued they seemed rather to exhort than command ; and the style in which they were composed, rather proclaimed the provident parent anxious for his childrens welfare, than the dictates of an imperious and arbitrary master. The celebrated institutions of St. Lewis, which abolished judicial combats, are distinguished by the same prominent features. The wisdom and equity of his code, which at first was only published to be observed within his own domains, ensured it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom ; and the virtuous and good intentions of its author contributed to reconcile the nation to that legislative authority which the king began to assume.

The people, from this period, were accustomed to behold their kings exercising the sole legislative power ; and the steps which led from this important acquisition to the right of imposing taxes were few and easy. The subject, habituated to obey in points
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of the greatest consequence, were not alarmed when they were required by the royal edicts to contribute certain sums toward supplying the exigencies of government, and carrying forward the measures of the nation. The principal nobility of that kingdom who might have successfully resisted the extension of the regal prerogative, had exhausted their fortunes, or yielded up their lives in the destructive wars which clouded the reigns of John the Good, and Charles the Sixth: The remnant which still maintained their dignity, looked up to Charles the Seventh as their deliverer from the yoke of the English. That monarch was not insensible to the advantages of his own situation, and the manifest decline of that body which he wished to depress. He embraced the first interval of peace to raise the regal prerogative on the ruins of the aristocracy, and to new model the constitution. The happy complexion of the times allowed him to introduce innovations the most important without the least opposition. Disgusted with the capricious service of the vassals of the crown, and under pretence of keeping always on foot a force sufficient to defend the kingdom against any sudden invasion of the English, he retained under arms a body of nine thousand cavalry, and of sixteen thousand infantry.

To provide the funds for the subsistence of this formidable standing army, he ventured by his royal edict, and without the concurrence of the States-general of the kingdom, to levy an extraordinary subsidy on his people. By his conciliating address he also prevailed on them to render several taxes perpetual, which had been formerly imposed only occasionally, and during a short time. Thus while he freed the crown from a precarious dependence in regard to its revenues on the will of the people, he mortally wounded the aristocracy by depriving the nobles of the direction of the military force of the state;

state ; a source from whence they had formerly derived their principal influence and importance.

The system which had been cautiously and covertly pursued by Charles, was more openly adopted, and more vigorously embraced by his son and successor, Lewis the Eleventh. Yet the daring spirit which his early measures proclaimed, gave a transient union to the nobility whom he wished to oppress ; a momentary sally of resentment linked them in one great plan of defence ; and Lewis beheld with terror a confederacy which was dignified by the appellation of *The League for the public Good*. A body composed of such discordant members could not long retain its stability ; it was soon dissolved by the arts of Lewis ; and the monarch, to avert the danger of a future confederacy, steadily persevered in the plan of more silently, though not less effectually, extinguishing the privileges of the nobles. He filled all the departments of government with new men, and often with persons whom he had called from the lowest and most despised functions in life, and raised at pleasure to stations of great power or trust : These were his only confidants whom he consulted in forming his enterprises, and on whom he devolved the execution of them. The barons, removed from the throne, were treated with studied neglect ; every artifice was employed to lessen them in the estimation of the people ; and the king assiduously laboured to degrade the order, and to reduce the members of it to the same level with his other subjects. No sooner had the subtle monarch proscribed his nobility from offices of trust, and despoiled them of popularity, than he threw off the mask, and displayed the open features of the bloody and unfeeling tyrant. Those persons of rank who presumed to oppose his schemes, or were so unfortunate as to awaken his jealousy, were persecuted with a rigour from which the pride of birth had hitherto exempted them. They were
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tried by judges who had no right to take cognizance of their actions; they were subject to the most severe tortures; and were frequently condemned to execution on the public scaffold, without regard to their illustrious parentage, or the dignity of their condition. The houses of Luxemburgh and Armagnac were violated by the hands of the common executioner; and the estates of the duke of Bourbon were confiscated by the capricious suspicion of his sovereign.

The people beheld with astonishment, but perhaps without regret, an order of men whom they had been accustomed to regard with a mixture of reverence and fear, shut up in dungeons, carried about in iron cages, or condemned to the most degrading deaths, at the voice of their imperious master; who while he stripped the barons of their power and privileges, daily extended the prerogative of the crown. To the standing forces which his father had raised, he added six thousand Swiss, at that time esteemed the best disciplined infantry in Europe, and whom he attached to his service by the most liberal donatives and pay. These he considered as the faithful guardians of his authority; in their valour he implicitly confided; and during the latter part of his reign he kept a considerable body of them encamped in one place.

Such an additional establishment required an augmentation of the royal revenue, and Lewis was not diffident in asserting the prerogative which his father had assumed of levying taxes without the concurrence of the States-general. The imposts which Charles the Seventh had established were nearly trebled by Lewis the Eleventh; and those extraordinary burdens, the odium of which he was unwilling to bear, the subtle monarch imposed through the medium of the States, and daily diminished the popularity of those assemblies, by rendering them
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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

the instruments of his exactions. On these occasions he first displayed those arts of corruption in which modern princes have since so eminently excelled; and by influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or overawing the members, by artfully changing the forms of their deliberations, he converted the nominal guardians of the liberties and property of the people into the subservient tools and supple ministers of the crown; and while he affected to respect the channel, fatally poisoned the source of freedom.

France by his various acquisitions, and by the persevering policy of his administration, was formed into one compact kingdom, which acknowledged and obeyed the single hand of its master. Yet the despotism of his successors was frequently bounded by two powers, which, in the course of this history, it will be repeatedly necessary for us to advert to. 1. The nobles of France, who, though deprived by Lewis of political privileges, still possessed several personal rights, and maintained in the eyes of the people a degree of lustre and delicacy of character, which frequently checked the daring career of intemperate sovereignty: 2. The parliament of France, and particularly of Paris, which during those intervals that the States-general had been discontinued, had been insensibly and gradually gratified with the important permission of advising their sovereign, and of approving and registering his edicts and ordinances, before they were published and declared to be of authority in the kingdom.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXI

Accession of Charles the Eighth—Administration of the Lady of Beaujeu—Revolt of the duke of Orleans—Brittany re-annexed to the Crown of France—Invasion of that kingdom by Henry the Seventh of England—Italian Expedition—Battle of Fornova—Death and Character of Charles the Eighth.

WHEN Lewis the Eleventh expired, his son and successor, Charles the Eighth, had A. D. 1483. almost completed his fourteenth year, and might have aspired to the reins of government without any violation of the laws of France; but the deficiency of his education, the delicacy of his constitution, and the distance at which he had been kept from public affairs, rendered some more able pilot necessary to steer the vessel of state through the secret shoals which surrounded it.

Three competitors appeared as candidates for this important trust. John duke of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, who, with the reputation of unblemished integrity, had attained the advanced age of sixty years, and whose prudence and gravity strongly recommended him to popular esteem: Lewis duke of Orleans, presumptive heir to the crown, but

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whose natural claim was weakened by his inexperienced youth, as he had scarce completed his twentieth year; and Anne, the eldest daughter of the late monarch, and to whom Lewis, in his late moments, had committed the charge of the government, with the doubtful title of governess.

The nomination of that princess was confirmed by the assembly of the States-general at Tours; and although only entered into her twenty-second year, Anne appears to have possessed all the qualities requisite for the high office with which she was invested. Equal to her father in genius, but more uniform in her conduct, and more magnanimous in disposition; her judgment was sound, without any mixture of that perfidious duplicity which debased the understanding of Lewis; though vindictive, not cruel; though tenacious of her dignity, not violent or imperious. Led aside by no inferior passions, she felt her capacity for administration, and sacrificed entirely to that object. Mistress of an eloquence and address the most refined, she knew how to possess, and to retain the authority delegated to her. Her late father, actuated by that jealous and capricious policy which characterised his conduct, married her to Peter of Bourbon, sire de Beaujeu, and younger brother of the duke of Bourbon. That nobleman was a remote and collateral branch of the blood royal; of a slender fortune and moderate capacity; but his deficiencies were his principal recommendations to the suspicious Lewis, who wished not to aggrandise the house of Bourbon; and his easy and unassuming temper had gained upon the dying monarch to constitute his son-in-law lieutenant-general of the kingdom; while the last will of Lewis evinced his faculties still unimpaired by disease, by bequeathing the reins of government to the superior abilities of his daughter.

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The first endeavour of the lady of Beaujeu was to ingratiate herself with the people by an act of popular justice; the ministers of the late king, who had availed themselves of his jealous temper, to exercise their wanton cruelties on his subjects, were surrendered to public punishment. Amongst these, the most odious were Oliver le Dain and Jean Doyac; the former a native of Flanders, from the inferior station of a barber, had acquired the confidence and favour of Lewis; he had successfully exercised his ingenuity in inventing new modes of torture, to gratify his unfeeling master; and having received, as the reward of his prompt inhumanity, the lands of Meulant, he assumed the title of count de Meulant. Neither his wealth, nor pretended dignity, could avert the stroke of justice: and he was hanged by a sentence of the parliament, which involved his servant and assistant, Daniel. Jean Doyac was born in Auvergne, and of the lowest extraction; he attained the government of that province by even exceeding the sanguinary commands of Lewis; and the unfortunate people, subjected to his authority, were daily oppressed and despoiled by his violence and rapacity. His punishment was singular and rigorous; he was condemned, after being whipt in all the open places or squares of Paris, to have one of his ears cut off, and his tongue pierced with a hot iron; thence he was conducted to his native city of Mortferrand, again whipt, and his other ear cut off; and his estates and effects, with those of Oliver le Dain, were confiscated to the crown. Jacques Coitier, the physician of the late monarch, had availed himself of the terror of death, which so strongly influenced his royal patient, to extort from him large sums, and even to address him in language equally insolent and arrogant; he was called to answer for the exorbitant wealth he had acquired; and some idea of his riches
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may be entertained from the readiness with which he acquiesced in the fine of fifty thousand crowns.

Yet acts of severity engaged not alone the attention of the lady of Beaujeu; and her address was exerted to conciliate the friendship, and disarm the resentment of her unsuccessful rivals. The duke of Bourbon was gratified, and appeased by the sword of constable, long the object of his ambition; but the duke of Orleans, whose pretensions were more formidable, was more deeply impressed by his late disappointment. The rage of baffled ambition was inflamed by a circumstance trifling in itself, but important in its consequences. A dispute, relative to a game of tennis, was decided against him by Anne, who was a spectator of the amusement. The duke, incensed at a determination which he conceived to be the result of personal enmity, vented aloud his spleen, by declaring, that "whoever had decided against him, if a man, was a liar; if a woman, a strumpet;" the language was gross, the affront unpardonable; Anne obtained from the council an order to arrest the duke, who escaped to the castle of Beaujency on the Loire, where he was soon besieged by the lady of Beaujeu, and compelled to surrender.

The duke of Orleans, stripped of authority, still nourished his latent resentment, and sought for support in the neighbouring states and natural enemies of his country; but England, scarce emerged from civil commotions, was unwilling to engage in foreign enterprises. The infant children of Edward the Fourth had been extinguished by the bloody ambition of their uncle, Richard the Third; and the tyrant soon after, in Bosworth field, had yielded up his life and crown to the earl of Richmond, who ascended the throne with the title of Henry the Seventh, and by his marriage united the rival houses of Lancaster and York; yet Henry, naturally cau-
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tious, and new to royalty, was deaf to the discontents of the duke of Orleans, who found a more willing confederate in Francis the second, duke of Brittany.

That prince, conscious of his own incapacity for government, had resigned himself to the counsels of Peter Landais, a man of mean extraction, and destitute of principles, though not devoid of ability. The nobles of Brittany, provoked by the insolence of the favourite, had risen in arms, seized the wretched Landais, and executed on him a sentence of death which had been pronounced in a tumultuous and illegal assembly. Dreading the resentment of their prince, they had entered into a secret correspondence with the court of France: the desire of the lady of Beaujeu to reunite the province of Brittany to the crown, was repressed by the late intemperate folly of the duke of Orleans; but the prosecution of her plan was again resumed, and veiled under the pretence of providing for domestic security; a pretence afforded by the unexpected flight of her rival, who sought shelter in the territories of Brittany.

France received the noble fugitive with every mark of respect; and Lewis, sensible of the ascendancy which he rapidly acquired over the mind of his protector, flattered himself with the idea of obtaining a divorce, and of marrying Anne, the daughter and heiress of the duke; but the nobles of Brittany regarded with jealousy the favour of the duke of Orleans and his train; they renewed their secret negotiations with the lady of Beaujeu, and invited the French to an invasion of their country. Yet still desirous of preserving its independency, they regulated the number of succours which France was to send, and stipulated, that no fortified place in Brittany should remain in possession of that power. The lady of Beaujeu readily sub-

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1485, 1486.

A. D. 1487.

scribed to conditions, which she was determined to maintain no longer than was consistent with her interest. Her vigilance detected the treasonable correspondence of Philip de Comines, the celebrated historian, with the duke of Orleans; and the crime of that minister was punished by an imprisonment of three years; her vigour enabled France to invade Brittany with four armies, each of them superior to the numbers that had been stipulated by the late treaty. These rapidly possessed themselves of Ploermel, Vannes, and Dinant, and united their strength in the siege of Nantz; the forces of Francis had been entrusted to the duke of Orleans and the count of Dunois, the son of the renowned general who had distinguished himself in the reign of Charles the Seventh; but the Britons were disgusted by the choice of their prince; jealous of their leaders, they retired in discontent, and left the French to pursue their conquests without interruption.

But the success of France soon obliged the lady of Beaujeu to drop the mask which she had worn; and evinced to the barons of Brittany her intention to retain the conquests she had acquired. These, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the standard of the French. Their return to their allegiance inspired their countrymen with fresh confidence in their prince, and fresh ardour in the cause of their natural independence. The forces of the duke of Brittany were swelled by their transient enthusiasm to sixty thousand men; Nantz was relieved; and the French were soon after obliged to abandon, with disgrace, the siege of that city.

But Anne, firm and undaunted, was not deterred by this check, from persevering in her favourite project, of reducing Brittany to subjection. The state of Europe was propitious to the execution of this design.

design. The indigence of Maximilian precluded him from affording any effectual assistance to Francis. Ferdinand and Isabella, who, by their marriage had united Arragon and Castile, were occupied in the conquest of Granada from the Moors; and Anne was sensible, that at any time she could secure the neutrality of those princes by the restoration of Roussillon and Cerdagne. England alone was enabled by her power, and prompted by her interest, to maintain the interest of the Britons. Even gratitude loudly summoned Henry to arm in defence of Francis. When earl of Richmond, and pursued by the bloody policy of Richard the Third, he had been protected from the deadly jealousy of the tyrant, by the court of Brittany; and the assistance he had received, it was now in his power to repay: but Henry, we have already observed, was naturally cautious and dilatory; the protection he had received in Brittany, might be balanced by the subsequent supplies of men and money from the ministers of France, which had contributed to place him on the throne of England; his frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, rendered him averse to all warlike enterprises and distant expeditions. Though conscious of the formidable accession of strength which France would acquire by the reduction of Brittany, he considered the undertaking as clogged by insuperable obstacles; he was confirmed in this opinion by the army which Francis had hastily assembled, and by the subsequent relief of Nantz; and while he ought to have prepared for war, he confined himself to the arts of negotiation, and the vain proffer of mediation.

Anne had no sooner charmed to sleep that power which she most dreaded, than she resumed with vigour her plans of conquest; and the French army, commanded by la Tremouille, invested and successively reduced Fougères, and St.

A. D. 1488.

Aubin de Cormier. The loss of this place determined the Britons to hazard a decisive action. They had lately been reinforced by the lord d'Albert, who was allured to the standard of Francis, by the hopes of marrying his daughter, and who led to his assistance a body of four thousand men at arms. A small band of English, levied at the expence, and animated by the presence of lord Woodville, who, while he disobeyed the public order, gratified the secret inclination of the sovereign, gave confidence to the cause, by the fame of their former prowess. The whole of the confederate army might amount to twelve thousand men; and the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange marched on foot at the head of the infantry. The French, nearly equal in number, declined not the encounter. The Britons were broke by the impetuous charge of the French cavalry; Tremouille pressed his advantage; the moment was decisive; lord Woodville, with the English, perished on the field; and the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange, after an ineffectual display of personal valour, were taken prisoners by the victors; the former, after a short confinement in the castle of Lusignan, in Poitou, was conducted to Bourges, where he remained a captive in the great tower above two years.

A. D. 1488, 1489. The defeat of St. Aubin du Cormier, was soon after followed by the death of Francis the Second. The aged duke, overwhelmed by misfortunes, and oppressed by infirmities, was thrown from his horse. The danger which resulted from this accident, was fatally increased by the anxiety of his mind; and the unhappy prince sunk into the grave, leaving his daughter Anne, then only thirteen years of age, the heiress of his spacious dominions. The hand and rich inheritance of that princess were disputed by numerous competitors. The lord d'Albert claimed it as the reward of his former

former services ; the duke of Orleans was supposed to have possessed himself of the secret inclinations of the princess ; and Maximilian, king of the Romans, who had been married to Mary of Burgundy, pleaded his superior dignity, and was profuse in his promise of future assistance. The first of these rivals was esteemed too insignificant ; the second was a prisoner, and it was by no means certain that a dissolution of his former marriage with Jane, the daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, could be procured ; and necessity, and the advice of her council, determined Anne to prefer Maximilian ; the marriage was celebrated by proxy ; the count of Nassau, as the representative of the king of the Romans, introduced his naked leg into the bed of the bride ; but the poverty of Maximilian prevented him from presenting himself in person ; and an union, which his presence would have rendered indissoluble, was soon after broken ; and the king of the Romans was left to regret the parsimony of his father, the emperor Frederic the Third, who refused him the inconsiderable sum of two thousand crowns, and thus deprived him of this important acquisition.

But while Maximilian triumphed in his new alliance, the very foundation of his hopes were undermined by another competitor, of whom he had not entertained the most distant suspicion ; the lady of Beaujeu, who by the death of her husband's elder brother was become duchess of Bourbon, perceived that the conquest of Brittany, in opposition to the natives, would still prove a difficult enterprise ; the marriage of the duchess with the king of France, could alone fully re-annex that fief to the crown ; but Charles the Eighth had been formerly affianced to Margaret daughter of Maximilian, who, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of the queen of France.

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Besides her rich dowry, she was also heiress, after her brother Philip, to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy. But Anne of Bourbon determined to prefer the immediate possession of a considerable territory, to a succession, distant and precarious; and by dissolving two marriages, which had been celebrated but not consummated, to unite the king of France with the duchess of Brittany.

A. D. 149. In the prosecution of this design, Margaret of Austria was sent back to her father. The French forces pushed their advantages in Brittany. They were received into Nantz by the lord d'Albert, enraged at his own disappointment; and soon after invested in Rennes the duchess of Brittany. That princess, attacked on every side, and hopeless of succour, long disdained to violate the faith which she had pledged; she was at length vanquished by the persuasions of the duke of Orleans, who for that purpose was released by Charles from prison; his influence extorted her reluctant consent, and the nuptials of the duchess of Brittany with the king of France were celebrated at Langeais in Touraine.

A. D. 1492. The success of Charles, was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans; he had lost a considerable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess whom he had espoused; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him after she had been treated during some years as the queen of France; he vented his rage in the most violent expressions; and threatened France with an invasion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

Henry the Seventh, after the death of Francis the Second, had granted to the distress of his daughter a tardy and ineffectual aid; he now had reason to reproach himself with his imprudent supineness; and beheld,

beheld, with a mixture of dread and indignation, his most useful ally swallowed up by the growing power of France. He readily closed with the proposals of Maximilian; he declared his resolution of emulating the glory of his predecessors, and of reviving the victories of Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt; even his natural avarice stimulated his preparations; he was sensible of the displeasure which the English had conceived against Charles, on account of the late acquisition of Brittany; and while he exhausted the coffers of his subjects, he nourished their enthusiastic valour with the vain idea of once more carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris.

With an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, Henry crossed the sea, landed at Calais, and invested Bulloigne; while Maximilian and Ferdinand had engaged to favour his operations by different attacks. With the acquisition of Brittany, the influence of the dukes of Bourbon had expired; and the fears of France were augmented by the inexperience of her youthful sovereign. Yet the storm which menaced destruction, was soon hushed. Henry, swayed by his ruling passion, accepted the immediate sum of seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, and retired into his own dominions; Ferdinand, king of Spain, was gratified by the restoration of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne; and to Maximilian was ceded part of the territory in Artois, which had been acquired by Lewis the Eleventh.

These important concessions were made with a view of new acquisitions, and the hope of distant but splendid conquests. As the character of Charles began to expand itself with the increase of his years, his subjects discerned a disposition different from that of his father. Instead of the dark and crafty Lewis, they beheld a king whose fancy was lively, though his judgment

judgment was weak ; who possessed a temper the most amiable and gentle ; and a heart which even power could not corrupt to the commission of a crime. Fond of pleasure, though easily inflamed with the love of glory, he sacrificed to the love of both ; and the pretensions which, as heir to the house of Anjou, he inherited on the kingdom of Naples, formed a plausible and flattering object to a youthful mind.

A. D. 1493. Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, governed Milan in the name of his nephew Galeazzo, the duke ; an authority which depended on the favour of another but ill satisfied the ambitious mind of Sforza ; he formed the design of deposing his unsuspecting kinsman, and seating himself on the ducal throne. So daring a crime he was conscious must excite against him a combination of the Italian powers, who would arm in the support of the injured prince. To secure himself a protector, amidst the general odium which would ensue, and to divert the attention of Italy from the chastisement of his perfidy, he negociated with the king of France, and invited him to the conquest of Naples ; a kingdom, the claim to which had been bequeathed to Lewis the Eleventh by Charles of Anjou, count of Maine and Provence.

Ferdinand the First, who then occupied the throne of Naples, was a natural son of Alfonso the Fifth, king of Arragon and Naples, and surnamed the Wise and Magnanimous. He had already passed his seventieth year, and on the first report of the hostile designs of Charles, the aged monarch, in an embassy the most submissive, offered to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns. These conditions, so advantageous to France, were rejected by the king, ambitious of the fame of a conqueror ; Ferdinand, doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, oppressed by years, and sensible of the calamities which impended over his country, was seized

seized with an apoplexy, which terminated his existence, and devolved his crown on his son Alfonso the Second.

The remonstrances of the duchess of Bourbon, the sister of Charles, against the Italian expedition, were received with cold neglect, yet the preparations of the king seemed inadequate to the important enterprise he meditated; the army with which he proposed to cross the Alps and Apennines, consisted scarce of twenty thousand men: gallant indeed and courageous, but unaccustomed to the fatigues of long and toilsome campaigns. The train of artillery however, the ammunition, and warlike stores of every kind provided for its use, were so considerable as to bear some resemblance to the immense apparatus of modern war.

After a number of delays, unavoidable at the commencement of such an enterprise, Charles began his march. While he waited at Asti, in Piedmont, for his artillery, which was obliged to be dragged over the mountains, he was seized with the small-pox, from which he recovered after the most imminent danger of his life; but the satisfaction arising from the return of Charles's health was damped by the distress of the army. Amidst the various preparations, money, the sinews of war, had either been neglected, or was exhausted in gratifying the avarice of the king of England, and purchasing his neutrality; no funds were provided for future contingencies; and the king was reduced to borrow at Turin the jewels of the duchess of Savoy, as he did at Casal those of the marchioness of Montferrat, to supply the necessary expences of the enterprise.

The naval forces of Charles, commanded by the duke of Orleans, triumphed over the fleet of Naples, and the king of France himself advanced to Vigeva, where he had an interview with Ludovico Sforza,

Sforza, who, after a small supply of money, left him in a few days to take possession of Milan, which he seized on the death of Galeazzo his nephew, though that prince had left an infant son. The most sagacious ministers of Charles advised him to punish the unnatural uncle, and to occupy Milan, which belonged of right to the family of Orleans; but the king, intoxicated with success, and regardless of the rigour of the season, pursued through the depth of winter his rapid and victorious career towards Naples.

A. D. 1494, 1495. The Italians, long undisturbed by the invasion of any foreign enemy, and accustomed to adjust the interests of their different states by the arts of negotiation, in vain would have opposed his progress with their effeminate mercenaries, the only military force that remained in their country. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible; and the sole obstacles the king of France encountered were those presented by nature. On his approach to the frontiers of Tuscany, the Florentines, who aspired to freedom, expelled Pietro de Medicis, and received the king in military triumph into their city. Clad in complete armour, mounted on horseback, his lance couched, and his vizor lowered, he entered Florence as a conqueror. Pisa and Sienna hailed him as their deliverer. His most implacable adversary, pope Alexander the Sixth, received the intelligence of his success with terror; he hastily retired into the castle of Angelo, and commanded the gates to be thrown open to the victor, who took possession of the city without a blow, and disposed of his troops in the different quarters of it. But Charles resisted the importunities of those who advised him to depose the turbulent Alexander, and fill the apostolic chair with a more holy successor. The king rejected their counsels, and concluded a treaty with
the

the Roman pontiff, who solemnly granted him the investiture of Naples, and delivered to him several strong places, with his son Cæsar Borgia, as a pledge for the sincerity of his intentions.

From Rome, the king pressed forward towards Naples, where all was confusion and affright. A. D. 1495. Alfonso the Second, who succeeded his father Ferdinand, had in former difficulties merited the character of an active and warlike, though tyrannic, prince; he now for ever stained that reputation by the most base and manly desertion of all the duties of a sovereign. While the French were yet at the distance of sixty leagues, guided only by his fears, he resigned his sceptre to his son Ferdinand the Second, and embarked on board a vessel for Messina, where he soon after ended his days in a convent. The new king was defeated in a slight engagement which he hazarded, and was obliged to shelter himself in the isle of Ischia. Naples instantly received the conqueror; the castle held out a very short time; and the whole kingdom only Brindisi, Reggio, and Gallipoli, continued to declare for Ferdinand.

Dazzled with so extraordinary a blaze of glory, Charles already meditated the attack of Constantinople, and the subversion of the Ottoman empire; but while he inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, a powerful combination was formed against him of almost all the Italian states, supported by the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand king of Arragon. The Italians, though unable singly to resist his arms, soon perceived that a confederacy might accomplish what the separate members of it durst not attempt. The examples of the Roman pontiff, and the Republic of Venice, were prevalent; and even the perfidious Sforza, duke of Milan, incapable of gratitude,

gratitude, and sagacious to discern his interest, acceded to the league.

Charles had scarce made his triumphal entry into Naples, before it was necessary for him to determine on his retreat. His enemies assembled on every side; and the duke of Orleans, who ought to have led a body of eight thousand men to reinforce his sovereign, had engaged in an attempt against Ludovico Sforza, and had surpris'd the city of Novara, where he was afterwards blocked up. With scarce nine thousand men, the king of France traversed the Alps, while the confederates, whose forces amounted to above thirty thousand, declined engaging in those mountains, and expected him in an open plain, near the village of Fornova, nine miles from Placentia. The courage of the French, animated by the presence of their prince, was superior to all opposition; Charles was among the first who charged the enemy, and in the action was exposed to imminent danger, and extricated himself by his personal valour and the goodness of his horse. The Italians fled before the ardour of the youthful monarch; who, unable to improve his victory from his inferior numbers, pursued his march, reached Ast in security, and soon after relieved the duke of Orleans, reduced to extreme distress by famine in the city of Novara.

A reinforcement of sixteen thousand Swiss enabled Charles to dictate the conditions of peace with Ludovico Sforza; but while he abandoned himself to pleasure at Lyons, Ferdinand the Second, emerging from his retreat, and assisted by the Spanish troops, guided by the skill of Gonsalvo Hernandez, surnamed *The Great Captain*, returned again in triumph to his capital. The French indeed, under the command of the constable d'Aubigny, gained an useless victory, and maintained their reputation for national valour; the duke of Montpensier, to whom the government of Naples was entrusted, surrendered
after

after an obstinate defence. Capua, Averfa, and Otranto, returned to their allegiance; but before Ferdinand could behold the complete reduction of his dominions, he himself expired, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, who in a tide of uninterrupted success, swept away the few remaining garrisons of France which had escaped the arms of Ferdinand.

Amidst the pleasures and entertainments of a court, Charles still continued his preparations for war, and kept his eyes fixed on Italy; but the object of his arms was changed, and he had determined to support the pretensions of the house of Orleans to the duchy of Milan. He had repelled a feeble invasion of Ferdinand king of Arragon, and his mind was once more elated with the ambition of conquest, and the hopes of martial glory. Yet his body seemed but ill to correspond with the lofty designs he had planned; and his excessive attachment to women had debilitated a frame naturally delicate and weak. So apparent were the symptoms of his approaching dissolution, that the duke of Orleans, the heir to the crown, refused to take upon him the command of the army destined for the recovery of Milan. That prince had before incurred the displeasure of the king, by diverting to the attack on Ludovico Sforza, the forces destined to reinforce Charles; he had more effectually awakened the resentment of the queen, by an injury of a domestic nature; the death of the dauphin, the only son of Charles and Anne, who expired soon after the arrival of the former from Italy, sunk deep in the mind of the latter; the king, to alleviate her concern, advised his courtiers to procure her daily amusements; the duke of Orleans with this intention appeared at a masquerade, and exerted himself in a dance to a degree of extravagance; Anne interpreted these marks of levity to the dauphin's death, which

which opened to him the succession; and disguised not her indignation. His refusal to head the expedition against Milan, completed his disgrace; and he prudently retired from court, to a life of privacy in the castle of Blois.

A. D. 1497. On the retreat of the duke of Orleans, all military preparations were suspended, and the cavalry which had passed the Alps were recalled. The king himself, conscious of the decline of his health, employed his hours in the internal regulation of his kingdom, and in alleviating the burdens of his subjects. His attachment to the fair, had already been productive of very injurious consequences to his constitution, but he now relinquished his former irregularities, and retired with the queen to the castle of Amboise, a residence which he had ever regarded with peculiar fond partiality.

A. D. 1498. From a gallery in that castle he was engaged in surveying a game of tennis that was played in the ditch below; desirous that the queen might partake of the amusement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but in pressing through a door, he struck his head with violence against the top, which was very low. He felt however no immediate bad consequences from the accident, and was conversing with his confessor, the bishop of Angers, and avowing his determination to observe the nuptial fidelity that he owed to the queen, when he suddenly fell back in an apoplectic fit. The attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a wretched couch which stood in the corner of the gallery; thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly lost it again; his expressions were solely those of devotion; and notwithstanding every effort of medicine, he expired at eleven o'clock the same night, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and in the twenty-eighth of his age.

The

The amiable qualities of Charles, acquired him the surnames of the Affable and the Courteous; and his character has been delineated by Comines with strength and simplicity, "a man of little person, slender understanding; but so sweet in his disposition, that it was impossible to find a better temper." His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence; two of his domestics are said to have died of grief for the loss of their beloved master; and Anne of Brittany, his widow, abandoned herself to all the distraction of sorrow. During two days she secluded herself in a corner of her chamber overwhelmed with despair, deaf to the friendly importunities of her attendants, and obstinately refusing to accept the nourishment that was repeatedly proffered to her.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXII.

The duke of Orleans succeeds to the throne as Lewis the Twelfth—Marries the widow of Charles—Invades Milan and Naples—Is deceived by Ferdinand king of Arragon—Successive wars in Italy—League of Cambray, and defeat of the Venetians—Victories, and death of Gaston de Foix—Confederacy against Lewis—Death of Anne of Brittany—Marriage of Lewis with Mary of England—His death and character.

IN Charles the Eighth ended the direct line of Valois; and the sceptre passed to Lewis duke of Orleans, grandson to the first duke of Orleans, who was assassinated at the instigation of John duke of Burgundy; the new king, who ascended the throne with the title of Lewis the Twelfth, was in possession of the mature vigour of body and mind; he had attained the thirty-sixth year; the fire of youth was tempered by experience; and in the severe school of adversity, he had learned to feel for the distress of others. During the regency of the lady of Beaujeu he had passed two years of lonesome imprisonment; and though liberated by the generosity of Charles, he never possessed the confidence, and soon after incurred the displeasure of that monarch.

From

From his retirement at Blois, he was called to the cares of royalty ; and the first acts of his administration displayed the mild and magnanimous features of his character ; he repealed several taxes most odious to the people ; and when reminded by his courtiers that la Tremouille had made him prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, he returned the justly celebrated answer, " it becomes not a king of France to revenge the quarrels of the duke of Orleans."

We have already explained the pretensions of the house of Orleans to the kingdom of Naples ; but though Lewis was desirous of asserting the claims of his family, the first moments of his reign were dedicated to concerns of a more domestic nature. He had been early, and reluctantly, married by Lewis the Eleventh to Jane, the youngest daughter of that monarch, a princess of an amiable disposition, but deformed in her person, and supposed to be incapable of bearing children ; on the oath of the king of France, that he had never consummated his marriage, pope Alexander the Sixth declared the union void and illegal ; Jane submitted with decent resignation to a sentence which deprived her of a crown ; and retiring to a nunnery, in which she took the veil, closed a life of humble virtue.

On the decease of Charles the Eighth, A. D. 1499.
Anne of Brittany, after indulging her unavailing sorrows, had retired into her own hereditary dominions, and affected to maintain the rights of an independent sovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from disposing of her hand, in case of his death without male issue, to the prejudice of the state ; yet where female passions are concerned, a stipulation so equivocal in its nature, could be but little depended on ; and prudence warned Lewis to secure the important acquisition of Brittany by measures the most effectual.

tual. To the policy of the monarch were joined the inclinations of the man ; when an exile in the court of duke Francis the Second, he was supposed to have regarded Anne with the fondest partiality ; and it was equally believed that princess was only deterred by the perplexed state of his and her own circumstances, from preferring him to her other suitors.

The displeasure Anne had entertained at the levity of the duke, on the death of the dauphin, was banished by the splendid prospect which presented itself, or overwhelmed by the tide of returning affection. She received the proposals of Lewis without hesitation, who hastened to Nantz, celebrated in that city his marriage, and conducted his new consort to Blois. Yet the queen, still anxious to secure, if possible, the independence of her native duchy, stipulated, that if their union should be productive of two sons, the younger should inherit Brittany, with all the prerogatives of its former princes ; a clause injurious to France, but which was rendered ineffectual by her having no son, and by the marriage of her eldest daughter Claude, to Francis count d'Angoulême, who afterwards ascended the throne.

A. D. 1500. While the king was diverted by his domestic concerns from the invasion of Italy, Ludovico Sforza diligently improved each moment in preparing against the storm, which he expected from its delay would burst with redoubled violence. He restored his fortifications, augmented his garrisons, and replenished his magazines ; but the precautions of an usurper, whose crimes had estranged the affections, and united the enmity of his subjects, must ever prove fruitless. The general voice of Italy accused him of having poisoned his nephew John Galeazzo ; and the tyrant, in his own bloody perfidy, foresaw the revolt and desertion of his people. Lewis had allured the republic of Venice by the promise of a part of his spoils ; he had terminated

nated by a recent treaty the differences which had arisen between him and the emperor Maximilian; and had renewed the peace with Henry the Seventh of England. Strengthened by his alliances, and secure from the incursions of his natural enemies, he assembled his forces for the long projected expedition; the remonstrances of the cardinal d'Amboise deterred him from exposing himself in person; and his army, composed of twenty thousand men, the flower of French chivalry, was commanded by Lewis of Luxemburgh count of Ligni, by Robert Stuart lord d'Aubigny, and by John Trivalse, a native of Milan, who had approved his fidelity in the service of his predecessor.

The detestation of his own subjects was more fatal to Sforza than the arms of France and Venice. The cities of Milan were impatient to open their gates to the invaders, and to throw off the yoke of the treacherous usurper. The Venetians, in less than a week made themselves masters of the country beyond the Adda; the French entered Piedmont, and pursued their conquests with equal rapidity: the castle of Milan, provided with every requisite for a long and obstinate defence, was betrayed by Bernardin Curtio, to whom Sforza had entrusted the care of it. Ludovico himself, uncertain in whom he should confide, and incapable of resisting the storm, retired with his treasures to Inspruck; and Lewis, informed of the success of his arms, hastened across the Alps, entered the capital of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes; and during three months that he remained there, by the advice of cardinal d'Amboise, he employed himself in recalling those that had been banished by Sforza, in remitting a fourth of the imposts, in establishing a court of justice, and in assiduous endeavours to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of Milan.

So equitable an administration it was natural to suppose would have secured the attachment of his people ; but Lewis had scarce returned into the territories of France, before Sforza ventured to quit his retreat in Germany, and to enter again the Milanese. The levity and inconstancy of the Italians were immediately apparent. They abhorred the prosperous usurper, but they pitied and embraced the support of the princely fugitive. The gates of different cities were opened on the approach of Sforza, with the same facility as they had been unbarred to his enemies ; and the duke once more entered Milan, from whence he had so lately fled to seek a wretched shelter in exile. But this gleam of success was quickly followed by a sad reverse of fortune. The Swiss troops, whom he entertained in his service, conspired against him; and with a perfidy, which even the guilt of Ludovico cannot justify, delivered him up to la Tremouille, who commanded the French forces encamped near Novara. He was conducted to Lyons, where Lewis then resided ; and the temper of that monarch, naturally mild and humane, was steeled against Sforza by his retreated treachery and enormities. He sentenced him to a rigorous confinement in the castle of Loches, in Touraine ; but the severity of his imprisonment was afterwards mitigated ; during the latter part of it he was even indulged in the amusements of the chase ; and he was at last released, from a captivity of ten years, by the stroke of death.

From the reduction of the Milanese, A. D. 1501. Lewis aspired to the partial conquest of Naples, and he agreed to divide that kingdom with Ferdinand of Arragon. By the treaty concluded between the two princes, Naples and the northern half of the kingdom were assigned to Lewis, while the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were allotted to Ferdinand. The success of the confederates exceeded

ceeded their most sanguine expectations. Frederic, equally pusillanimous, or more unfortunate than his predecessors, renounced the garb of royalty, and sought a transient shelter on the rock of Ischia. Abandoned by his own subjects, and betrayed by Ferdinand of Arragon, with whom he had lately concluded a treaty of alliance, he determined to prefer an open and generous enemy to a perfidious ally. He demanded a safe conduct into France, and threw himself on the well known lenity of Lewis; from the liberality of that monarch he obtained an asylum in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual pension of thirty thousand crowns, which was continued to him even after the expulsion of the French from Naples.

The skill and valour of the great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, had made an easy conquest of the two provinces assigned to the king of Arragon. Tarento alone presumed to oppose his victorious career; confiding in the strength of their walls, the inhabitants were still further animated by the presence of Ferdinand, the heir of the crown, and eldest son of Frederic, who was shut up in that fortress: but the count of Potenza, and Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whose protection the youthful prince was entrusted, despairing of succour, consented to surrender Tarento, if they were not relieved within four months: but they demanded an oath that Ferdinand should be left at perfect liberty; Gonsalvo, whose military fame is stained with the blackest treachery and basest perjury, readily complied; he swore upon a consecrated host, and was admitted into Tarento; but the perfidious Spaniard hesitated not to detain the young prince as his prisoner; he was conveyed in that state to the king of Arragon; and though treated with lenity, was for fifty years the captive of the court of Spain, till death extinguished in him the Aragonese line of Neapolitan kings.

The

The intervals of tranquillity from his Italian wars were diligently employed by Lewis in promoting the internal regulation of his country. The states-general of Tours had represented to the late king the necessity of a council to decide in judicial appeals, and to enforce the administration of justice. The measure had been approved by Charles ; but it received its legal sanction in the reign of Lewis. By an edict, the king's council was erected into a court, which obtained the name of the great council. It consisted of twenty members, and the chancellor of France was appointed president. The parliament of Paris conceived no improper jealousy of this institution, which though at first confined to causes pleaded in the common courts of justice, was soon called upon by the king to determine on matters which had been agitated before the parliament, and was considered as a dernier resort from the tribunal of the latter.

A. D. 1502. In the reduction of Naples we have beheld Lewis and Ferdinand acting with perfect cordiality ; but scarce had they achieved that conquest, before they turned their arms against each other. The Spaniards first infringed the peace by acts of open hostility ; but the king having commanded his troops to repel force by force, his general the duke of Nemours took the field, and pushed his advantages over the Spaniards to such a length, that Gonsalvo was reduced to retire into the city of Barletta, where the want of ammunition and money had nearly compelled him to surrender. An indigent and mutinous army was more likely to second, than oppose the operations of the French ; but at the moment that the hand of Lewis was stretched out to grasp the entire kingdom of Naples, he was persuaded to listen to the language of accommodation, and lost an opportunity which it was never afterwards in his power to regain.

Philip

Philip the arch-duke, the son of the emperor Maximilian, and who had espoused Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was at this critical period passing through France, on his return from Spain into his native dominions of the Low Countries. Invested with full powers in a personal interview with Lewis at Lyons, he concluded a treaty with him in the name of his father-in-law. By the conditions of it, Charles, the son of Philip, was to receive in marriage Claude, the eldest daughter of the queen of France; the two monarchs were bound to a cessation of arms; the provinces originally ceded to each were confirmed; and the districts in dispute were to be sequestered into the hands of the arch-duke. A D. 1503.

The ambassadors of Ferdinand, who attended Philip, having sworn to the execution of this agreement, under pain of excommunication if violated or infringed, it was next officially announced to the two commanders in Naples. The duke of Nemours, conscious of the sincerity of his sovereign, readily professed his acquiescence to his orders, and offered to retire with his troops; but Gonsalvo, who disregarded the most solemn compacts, unless consistent with his interest, and who was sensible of the congenial disposition of his royal master, affected to doubt the powers of the archduke, and urged the propriety of his waiting for more express instructions. In the mean time he received from Maximilian a reinforcement of ten thousand Germans; he was also informed that the pope and the Venetians were ready to desert the alliance of Lewis; and that four thousand French, destined for the army in Naples, were disbanded on the idea that peace was already concluded. Antonio de Leyva, about the same time, had attacked and routed in Calabria a body of French commanded by the lord d'Aubigny. Gonsalvo was determined to avail himself of these favourable

yourable circumstances, and of the superiority he had acquired. In the battle of Cerignoles, without regard to the late convention, he encountered and defeated the duke of Nemours, who perished with great part of his army in the field; while Naples opened her gates to the victor, and her example was followed by Capua and Aversa.

D'Aubigny had indeed, after his defeat in Calabria, thrown himself into Angitole, where, supported by the zeal of the inhabitants, and that portion of his troops which had escaped the sword of the enemy, he had sustained a siege of several days; he was at last compelled to capitulate; he himself remained as an hostage till his troops evacuated the country; and excepting Gaïeta, the kingdom of Naples was totally subdued by Gonsalvo. It was in Savoy that the arch-duke received the intelligence of this shameful breach of a treaty for which he had pledged his honour. Jealous of his own reputation, and alarmed lest he should be suspected of having abetted the perfidious practices of his father-in-law, he returned instantly into France, and put himself in the power of Lewis. At the same time he dispatched Ferdinand, to remonstrate on the indelible infamy which must for ever stain his character, if he countenanced the treachery of Gonsalvo. But the king of Arragon, attentive only to the importance of his new acquisitions, was indifferent to reputation. With his usual duplicity, he at one moment disowned his ambassadors, at another his general; he publicly offered to restore the kingdom to the captive Frederic; but he secretly sent orders to push the war in Naples to the absolute expulsion of the French; these last were punctually obeyed by Gonsalvo, who, almost without resistance, soon afterwards completed the reduction of the kingdom.

Lewis, whose magnanimous mind was superior to the dark artifices of his rival, commanded the ministers

nisters of the king of Arragon to quit his dominions. Though he had severely suffered from the treachery of Ferdinand, he scorned to avail himself of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. While he dismissed the arch-duke with every mark of respect to pursue his route to Flanders, he addressed him at parting in these memorable words ;
 “ If your father-in-law has been guilty of perfidy,
 “ I will not resemble him ; and I am infinitely happier in the loss of a kingdom, which I know how
 “ to re-conquer, than to have stained my honour,
 “ which I could never retrieve.”

But if such were indeed the expectations of Lewis, they were exposed to the most mortifying and unmerited disappointment. Irritated by the duplicity of Ferdinand, he determined to attack him with the whole force of France ; and his preparations were proportioned to the injuries he had received. Three armies were assembled, to invade on every side the dominions of the king of Arragon. The first, commanded by la Tremouille, and composed of eighteen thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, was destined to the recovery of the kingdom of Naples ; the second consisted of five thousand Swiss and French, and a thousand men at arms, and under the conduct of the lord d’Albert and the mareschal de Gie, was directed to penetrate into the province of Fontarabia. The third, still more numerous, was entrusted to the mareschal de Rieux, and was to invade the county of Roussillon ; at the same time a considerable fleet was fitted out to insult the coasts of Catalonia and Valentia, and to intercept any communication at sea between Spain and Naples.

The indisposition of la Tremouille proved fatal to the Italian expedition ; the command of the army was devolved on the marquis of Mantua ; but unable to engage the affection of his officers, that general soon retired, and was succeeded
 by

A. D. 1504.

by the marquis of Saluces. The French, reduced by sickness, retired within the walls of Gaeta, where they were soon after invested by Gonsalvo. Famine compelled them to surrender; but Gonsalvo violated the conditions of the treaty, which expressed that they should be permitted to retire without ransom; and shamefully detained in captivity all those who were natives of Naples. Lewis d'Ars, indeed, a gallant French officer, rejecting the late capitulation, and insidious offers of the great captain, and depending solely on his sword, with about four thousand men effected a glorious retreat into the territories of Milan. But this conduct, so honourable to himself, could not avert the fate of Naples, and Gonsalvo preserved by his skill the kingdom which he had acquired by his treachery.

The army destined for the attack of Fontarabia was divided by the dissensions of its generals; and, after a variety of injudicious operations, joined the forces of France in Roussillon, and formed the siege of Salses; but the French were compelled to retire on the approach of Ferdinand himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. The fleet also, after alarming the coasts of Valentia and Catalonia, returned to Marseilles, and Lewis had the mortification of beholding his formidable armaments baffled in every enterprise. The death of Alexander the Sixth, and the election of Julian the Second to the apostolical see, to the disappointment of the cardinal d'Amboise, was an event equally unfavourable to the views of France; the mind of her monarch, oppressed by this storm of adversity, dangerously affected his body. A fever, produced by anxiety and vexation, threatened his immediate dissolution. Anne, daily apprehensive of the death of her royal consort, determined to provide for her own security, embarked her rich moveables, and meditated a retreat into her native dominions of Brittany. The vessels

vessels which she had laden were stopped by the prudent zeal of the mareschal de Gie ; an offence which ensured the future enmity of Anne ; and Lewis himself, on his recovery, by joining in the persecution of a faithful servant, has fixed no inconsiderable stain on his own character.

As soon as the health of the king was re-
established, he diligently applied himself A. D. 1505.
to terminate a war which had hitherto proved so unpropitious. A truce had been concluded with Spain for the countries bordering on the Pyrenees ; but the faith of Ferdinand could no longer be relied on ; and a variety of negociations were carried on between the king of France, the emperor Maximilian, and the archduke Philip. The latter in regard of his wife Joanna, on the death of Isabella queen of Castile, claimed the inheritance of her dominions, and changed the system of European politics. Ferdinand the Catholic was again reduced to his original kingdom of Arragon, after having ineffectually displayed his usual finesse to obtain the regency of Castile. He now endeavoured to reconcile himself to the king of France, and, sensible of the regard of that monarch for his niece Germana de Foix, he solicited and obtained in marriage the hand of that princess. This new alliance served to conciliate the animosity of the contending monarchs ; a treaty was at length concluded ; and Lewis honourably stipulated that the Neapolitan nobility, who had been imprisoned as his adherents by Gonsalvo, should be restored to their freedom : and that the partizans of the house of Anjou should be reimbursed for the losses they had incurred by their fidelity to that family ; a condition which the situation of Ferdinand's affairs compelled him to accede to, and which the king of France took care that he should punctually perform.

In

A. D. 1506. In a former treaty, the marriage of Claude, the eldest daughter of the king, with Charles the son of the archduke Philip, had been determined on; but the states had modestly represented to the king the danger to the crown from that princess transferring to her consort, not only her pretensions to the Italian acquisitions, but also to the province of Brittany. The king yielded to their remonstrances; he bestowed the hand of Claude on the count d'Angoulesme, the next heir to the throne; and thus avenged himself of the former perfidy of Ferdinand, while the seasonable death of the archduke precluded any differences which this alteration might have produced between him and Lewis.

The sudden and unexpected death of the archduke Philip, again restored Ferdinand of Arragon to the administration that he had lost. As he was in Italy when this event happened, an interview took place at Savona, in the territories of Genoa, between him and Lewis. The fears of the former, lest the king of France should oppose his designs on the regency of Castile, were his concealed motives to this interview. They again renewed their alliance, and swore to the strict observance of the articles of peace; but Ferdinand, who knew no principle of public or private fidelity, and only regarded his own interests, infringed and violated every condition on his return into Spain.

A. D. 1507. But the attention of the king of France was engrossed by the affairs of Italy. Julius the Second, though more decent in exterior, possessed the daring spirit of his predecessor, and displayed a disposition better suited to the camp than the conclave. Forgetful of the protection which Lewis had extended to him under the pontificate of Alexander, he exerted his genius in exciting the enemies of France, and nourishing the discontents of the Genoese

Genoese. These at last broke out into open revolt, expelled the French, and declared Paul Nuova, a silk-dyer, their duke. They were privately encouraged by Julius and the emperor Maximilian; and were openly reinforced by the troops of Pisa. Lewis, sensible how much his reputation depended on immediately crushing the insurgents, assembled a numerous and formidable army, forced the passes which the rebels had occupied, and in person stormed their intrenchments. The Genoese, disconcerted by his rapid approach, endeavoured to disarm his resentment by submission. The king, clad in complete armour, and with a stern countenance, entered Genoa; but his natural clemency prevailed; and after punishing Paul Nuova, and another incendiary, with death, he contented himself with imposing on the city a fine of three hundred thousand ducats.

During the various contests of the states of Italy, the constitution of Venice had maintained its stability, and the senate conducted its affairs with prudence and vigour. The territories of the commonwealth were enlarged; and the commerce which it had carried on, and the manufactures which it had established, rendered it the most opulent state of Europe. The power of the Venetians became at length an object of terror to their neighbours; and their wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who ill brooked the superior magnificence of these haughty citizens. Julius the Second regarded them with peculiar enmity; his intrigues first laid the foundation of the league of Cambray, which united, with himself, against the republic, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Lewis. However policy might actuate the two former, the determination of the latter has been universally censured; since he combined with his three most inveterate enemies,

enemies, against a state, the only ally which he could depend on beyond the Alps.

A. D. 1509. The different princes of Italy had acceded, from fear or envy, to the league of Cambray; and the Venetians, with a presumption different from their natural character, instead of bending before the storm, prepared to meet it with firmness. Julius had early repented of his new alliance, and offered, if Faenza and Rimini were restored to the church, to desert the cause he had embarked in; but Venice, confident of her strength, rejected his proposals. Lewis himself on this occasion crossed the Alps in person. The impetuous valour of the French, animated by the example of their monarch, triumphed over all obstacles; in the battle of Ghiarada, Alviano the Venetian general, after displaying the courage of a soldier and the skill of a commander, was defeated with the loss of above eight thousand men. Julius immediately seized all the towns which the republic held in the ecclesiastical territories; those on the coast of Calabria, Ferdinand re-annexed to his Neapolitan dominions; on one side Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice, while the French rapidly pressed their conquests on the other. From the height of presumption, the Venetians sunk to the depth of despair; and in their capital expected the fatal blow which was to extinguish them as a republic.

But though the confederates had readily united to humble the pride of Venice, their success soon revived their antient jealousy and animosities. Each dreaded the aggrandisement of the other, and a mutual suspicion prevailed through every part. Their discord rekindled the hopes of Venice; by well timed concessions, the senate appeased the pope and Ferdinand: their arts at length dissolved the confederacy which threatened to swallow up the commonwealth:

wealth; but though the Venetians recovered again many of their cities, they never could entirely retrieve their former influence, or extent of territory: while Lewis, who had rather been guided by resentment than political motives, when he engaged in the league of Cambray, had too much reason to repent the error that he had committed, during the future part of his reign.

The death of the cardinal of Amboise, first minister of state, was another loss to the kingdom. His virtue and disinterested spirit have been justly celebrated by contemporary historians. On the death of Alexander the Sixth, he had aspired to the pontificate, but he was betrayed by the cardinal de la Rovere, to whom his interests were entrusted, and who availed himself of that confidence to possess himself of the apostolical chair, as Julius the Second, but though the cardinal of Amboise was thus defrauded of the dignity he expected, he found some consolation in the gratitude of a people whose councils he guided; and the tears of France embalmed the memory of her minister. A. D. 1510.

The king of France was deprived of the councils of the cardinal at the moment they were most necessary to him. The pope, elated by the effects of a league which he himself had planned, conceived no enterprise too difficult for him, and entertained the hope of expelling every power out of Italy. He directed his first attack against the French. He absolved the Venetians from the interdict he had fulminated against them; he laboured to reconcile them to the emperor; he negotiated with Henry the Eighth who had succeeded to the throne of England; and he at last openly declared war against the king of France, entered the duchy of Ferrara, and laid siege to Mirandola. The progress of his forces not equaling his expectations, he appeared himself in the trenches, exhorted his troops to the attack, and on the

the surrender of the city caused himself to be carried in military triumph through the breach of the wall.

A. D. 1511. The king, from his natural moderation, and from the veneration of his consort for the successor of St. Peter, had forbidden his generals to carry their incursions into the territories of the church, but roused by reiterated acts of hostility, he at length commanded the mareschal Chaumont to avenge the insult he had received; that officer pressed Julius so vigorously that he was compelled to retire into Ravenna, when Chaumont himself was suddenly seized with a mortal distemper and expired, not without suspicion of poison. This seasonable death allowed Julius time to recover; but the mareschal Trivulzio, who was appointed to succeed Chaumont, soon reduced him to his former distress; he dreaded his deposition from the holy dignity. He beheld Rome exposed to the forces of his enemy, and would probably have thrown himself on the clemency of Lewis, had not that monarch been again prevailed on by the queen to spare the territories of the church, and thus revived the arrogance and vindictive spirit of the Roman pontiff.

Though Julius tottered beneath the increasing weight of age and infirmities, his enmity to France seems to have actuated him in the last moments of his life. He entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Arragon; he exhausted his coffers in subsidies to the Swiss; and he allured to his side the Venetians whom he had so lately endeavoured to oppress. The confederacy which he formed obtained the name of the *Holy League*; the army of the allies ravaged the duchy of Milan, retook Brescia, and besieged Bologna, when the drooping spirits of the French were re-animated by the presence of a youthful hero, whose life was a short, but rapid career of uninterrupted victory and refulgent glory.

Gaston

Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, was son to John de Foix, by Mary of Orleans, A. D. 1512. sister to Lewis the Twelfth. The hopes of obtaining his niece an advantageous match, had reconciled that monarch to the perfidious Ferdinand, who espoused her; and the esteem of the king for his nephew was not less apparent. Though Gaston had scarce attained his twenty-third year, his martial genius burst forth with superior lustre, and Lewis entrusted to his arm the honourable task of restoring the fame and fortunes of his country. The duke of Nemours justified the choice of his sovereign. During the siege of Pologna, he entered the city under cover of a prodigious fall of snow, unperceived by the assailants, who instantly retired from before the place; he relieved the garrison of Brescia; and, with only six thousand chosen soldiers, defeated the Venetian general Baglioni, who opposed his march; and glutted his followers with the slaughter of eight thousand of the enemy. The most important victories were indeed necessary to extricate Lewis from his difficulties; and that monarch, sensible that the Florentines were ready to declare for the holy league, sent orders to Gaston to hazard a decisive action. To induce the enemy to this measure, the duke of Nemours laid siege to Ravenna; the confederates advanced to the relief of that city. The two armies were nearly equal in number, each consisting of about twenty thousand men. In that celebrated battle, Gaston displayed the qualities of a consummate and experienced leader; the confederates were broken by his superior genius and valour, and the day was already gained, when the hero was informed that a body of four thousand Spaniards still maintained their ground, and had repulsed some of his own troops. Desirous of rendering his victory complete, he rushed forward to the charge, with about twenty gentlemen. He was received with steady

courage, and oppressed by a multitude of enemies; his horse was killed under him; and he himself, after having fought with the most heroic courage, fell pierced with twenty-two wounds.

Lewis lamented the untimely fate of his nephew, and appointed the marshal Trivulzio to succeed to the command; but the fortune of the French seems to have expired with the duke of Nemours; dissensions arose in the victorious army; Julius resumed fresh courage; a series of disasters succeeded each other; and the French, who had so lately aspired to the total conquest of Italy, were overwhelmed on every side with a torrent of adversity.

A. D. 1513. Julius the Second was not permitted to behold the expulsion of a people whom he had pursued with implacable enmity. His death is supposed to have been occasioned by vexation, at having ineffectually laboured more strongly to cement the confederacy that he had formed; but John de Medicis, who succeeded him under the title of Leo the Tenth, prosecuted with diligence and ability the plans of his predecessor. The Venetians returning to their former cautious councils, had declared their determination to observe a strict neutrality; but the Swiss had broke into the Milanese, defeated the marshals la Tremouille and Trivulzio with signal slaughter, and restored the duchy to the authority of Francis Sforza, the son of the unfortunate Ludovico.

Genoa had seized the favourable moment to throw off the yoke; and Lewis was threatened by a confederacy similar to that which had so lately humbled the pride of Venice. The pope was to enter Dauphine; the emperor to invade Champagne; the Swiss Burgundy; Henry of England, Picardy; and Ferdinand, Guienne and Languedoc. But Leo the Tenth, the liberal patron of the arts and sciences, was fatiate with the sound of war. The emperor indige-

indigent and sickle, fought only to supply his profusion by the subsidies of his allies; and Ferdinand employed his forces in successfully wresting from John d'Albert, the small kingdom of Navarre, which lies on the frontiers between France and Spain.

Henry indeed young and ardent, and inflamed with the prospect of military glory, landed at Calais, and formed the siege of Terouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. To the relief of that place Lewis advanced as far as Amiens, but the cavalry of France, in endeavouring to cover a convoy for the town, was attacked by the English. Though the French consisted chiefly of gentlemen, and had behaved with the greatest gallantry in the wars of Italy, they were on the sight of the enemy seized with an unaccountable panic; and from the precipitation with which they fled, the rout of that day has obtained the name of the *Battle of Spurs*; yet Henry, instead of pursuing his advantage and storming the entrenchments of an army already dismayed, returned to the siege of Terouane, which was at length compelled to capitulate.

The Swiss in the mean time had entered Burgundy, and invested Dijon with their victorious forces. The walls of that city would have proved but a weak obstacle to their impetuous valour; but they allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by la Tremouille, governor of Burgundy; who, though conscious that he should be disavowed by his master, purchased their retreat by a liberal distribution of money, and by splendid promises, which Lewis afterwards refused to fulfil.

Henry, at the solicitations of Maximilian, had, after the taking of Terouane, engaged in the siege of Tournay, a city within the frontiers of Flanders; opulent indeed, but from its situation an acquisition of no importance to the king of England. By its

ancient charter, Tournay was exempted from the burthen of a garrison; but the inhabitants shewed themselves unworthy of this honourable privilege, and in a few days opened their gates to the English. Henry had scarce happily terminated this enterprize, before he was informed of the retreat of the Swiss; the desertion of his allies, with the unfavourable season of the year, determined him to repass the seas with the greater part of his army; little satisfied with a campaign, which though apparently prosperous, but ill compensated for the expence with which it had been attended.

A. D. 1514. Yet although Lewis had averted the immediate fury of the storm, he was still sensible of the dangers to which his kingdom was exposed. The king of Scotland, whom he had excited to invade England, had perished, with his principal nobility, on the disastrous field of Flouden; and France, he was conscious, could only be saved by dissolving the confederacy of her enemies. By the language of submission he disarmed the resentment of Leo the Tenth, willing to preserve the balance of the contending powers. He allured Ferdinand and Maximilian, by the proposal of bestowing his second daughter on one of their common grandsons; and the death of his consort, Anne of Brittany, which happened at this critical juncture, allowed him to negotiate a treaty, not only of peace, but of alliance, with Henry the Eighth.

It was with indignation that monarch received the intelligence of the perfidy of Ferdinand and Maximilian. His resentment at finding himself the dupe of their arts, encouraged the duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Spurs, to avail himself of his favourable disposition, and to propose a peace, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He insinuated, that the death of the queen of France opened the prospect for an affinity

affinity, which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms; that though the marriage of a princess of sixteen, with a king of fifty-three, might seem unsuitable; yet this inequality might be compensated by other desirable circumstances; and that Henry, in withdrawing from the perfidious Ferdinand, would connect himself with Lewis, a prince, who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

Henry readily listened to the discourse of Longueville; and Lewis accepted, with transport, an alliance which converted a formidable enemy into an important friend. The articles were easily adjusted between the two monarchs; Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole, an exile in France, who affected to revive the pretensions of the house of York, should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive the payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and to enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, not excepting the late, who was heiress of Brittany.

In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and her marriage with Lewis was celebrated at Abbeville. An alliance, which had been suggested by political views, was cemented by the charms of his new queen; and the king of France, secure on the side of England, began already to meditate future expeditions against Italy; but his designs were broken by death; he had been frequently heard to repeat, that "love is the king of young, but the tyrant of old men;" and he was now condemned to experience the truth of that maxim. His constitution, already shaken, was exhausted by his affection

affection for Mary, with whose beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments, he was enchanted. Three months after he was seized with a fever and dysentery at the palace of the Tournelles in Paris, and breathed his last in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The character of Lewis is distinguished by a superior integrity, seldom to be discerned in princes; and though sometimes the dupe of his goodness of heart, and the treachery of his neighbours, yet he well deserved the honourable appellation of *The Father of his People*. In him expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and the sceptre of France was transferred to that of Angoulesme.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIII.

Accession of Francis the First.—Invasion of Naples and victory of Marignano—Competition between Francis and Charles for the Imperial Dignity—Wars between Francis and the Emperor Charles the Fifth—Loss of Milan—Revolt of Bourbon—Defeat of Bonivet—Siege of Marseilles—Siege and battle of Pavia.

THE last moments of Lewis, ever vigilant over the happiness of his people, A. D. 1515. were embittered by a prophetic dread of the splendid, but dangerous qualities of his successor; Francis the First, who ascended the vacant throne, was the son of Charles count d'Angoulesme by Louisa of Savoy; the presumptive heir of the crown, he had espoused Claude, the daughter of the late monarch, by Anne of Brittany; and on his accession to royalty, had but lately completed his twentieth year. Formed with the mien of a hero, he excelled in the exercises of a martial age; eloquent in debate, and undaunted in action; courteous in his manners, and bounteous in his disposition, his virtues and accomplishments dazzled an unthinking crowd, blind to the miseries which awaited his impetuous valour and inconsiderate ambition.

Mary,

Mary, on the death of Lewis, had bestowed her hand on Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk ; Francis, who was pleased with a marriage which prevented the king of England from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister, reconciled Henry to Mary and her new consort, who had early enjoyed that monarch's favour, and obtained permission for them to return to England. He next bestowed the vacant offices of constable and chancellor on Charles duke of Bourbon, and Anthony du Prat ; and directed his whole attention to the recovery of the Milanese, a design which had been interrupted by the death of his predecessor.

To supply the funds for this expedition, Francis, by the advice of his new chancellor, not only restored the taxes which Lewis had abolished, but exposed the offices of the crown to sale, and endeavoured to replenish his coffers by measures the most arbitrary and impolitic. He now openly avowed his claim to the duchy of Milan ; nor was he induced to suspend his resolutions by the powerful confederacy formed against him by the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, Leo the Tenth, Sforza, and the Swiss. The number and resources of his enemies seemed only to stimulate his ardour ; the passes of the Alps, which had been occupied by the Swiss, were eluded ; new roads were cut by the active perseverance of the French ; the army, after having surmounted every obstacle of art and nature, entered Italy ; and surprized Prosper Colonna, the general of the papal forces, who, ignorant of their approach, was negligently encamped with a thousand cavalry on the banks of the Po.

Francis, on receiving the intelligence of this success, prepared to join his commanders ; and, during his absence, devolved the regency of France on his mother Louisa of Savoy countess of Angoulesme ; a princess, whose character in a great measure influenced

enced the various events which diversified the reign of her son. The exquisite charms of her face and person were scarce diminished by the increase of years ; and in the acquired accomplishments of her sex she shone unrivalled. Her ambition and thirst of power were in some degree justified by her talents for government ; she possessed courage personal and political ; penetration, decision, and a magnanimity superior to adversity. Yet these virtues were frequently overwhelmed by the impetuous torrent of her passions ; and her administration was sullied by the faults and weaknesses of a woman. Open to vanity, and still susceptible of love, but implacable in her resentments, and actuated by the most malignant jealousy, impatient of controul, and greedy of the national treasures, the wisest projects were disconcerted, and the most important enterprises baffled, by her insatiate rapacity.

The king of France, on assuming the command of the army, entered the Milanese, and pressed forwards towards the capital. He was opposed by the Switzers alone, who had encamped at Marignano, about a league from Milan. The steady valour of these troops had been frequently experienced ; but their constancy was shaken by the alluring offer of seven hundred thousand crowns. While they yet hesitated, a reinforcement of ten thousand of their countrymen, and the powerful exhortations of the celebrated Matthew Schiener, a Swiss himself, and cardinal of Sion, determined their conduct ; inspired by his eloquence, and inflamed by a kind of military enthusiasm, they furiously marched forwards to attack the lines of the French.

History scarcely affords any example of a battle disputed with greater obstinacy than that of Marignano. It was began about four in the afternoon, in the month of September, and lasted more than three hours after the night closed. Lassitude and darkness separated

separated the combatants, without abating their animosity; the Swiss renewed the charge in the morning with fresh vigour; but they were at length repulsed with cruel slaughter; ten thousand perished on the field; and the rest of their forces retired unbroken and undaunted, and still formidable, although defeated. The loss of the victors was computed at six thousand men; and the intrepidity of Francis exposed him to the most imminent danger. When night suspended the conflict, he found himself intermingled with his enemies, and accompanied only by a few of his attendants. On the carriage of a cannon, completely armed, and anxious for the dawn, he snatched a few moments rest; in every charge he was foremost; his horse was wounded, and his body was covered with contusions; but though his personal prowess stood unrivalled, the victory of that day was to be ascribed to the constable Charles of Bourbon, whose skill and martial genius were eminently displayed; and whose younger brother the duke de Chatelleraud fell gallantly fighting by his side.

The terror which the battle of Marignano inspired, together with the return of the Swiss troops into their own country, left Maximilian Sforza almost destitute of any assistance. He yet sought to prolong the moments of his sovereignty by retiring into the castle of Milan; but that fortress was incapable of withstanding the ardour of the French, directed by the duke of Bourbon. It was surrendered to that general, together with the city of Cremona; but Sforza obtained at least honourable conditions from the victor; and a safe retreat, with an ample pension, was assigned him in France. Destitute of ambition, or of talents, he gladly retired from a situation to which he was unequal, and expired at last at Paris, after lingering for fifteen years through a life of contempt.

Leo

Leo the Tenth, versed in all the refinements of Italian policy, abandoned, with their fortune, the cause of his allies. He courted an interview with Francis; and that monarch suffered himself to be conducted by the cardinals, de Fiesco and de Medicis to the city of Bologna. He was there received by the Roman pontiff, who soon triumphed over the conqueror of the Swiss, by the insinuating language of flattery; and the king of France, after adopting the future plans of Leo, hastened to Lyons, that he might enjoy the acclamations of his subjects, and offer the trophies of his victory at the feet of his mother Louisa.

Yet a more penetrating statesman might have discerned advantages, not less permanent from the stroke of fate, than from the efforts of valour and discipline; and the death of Ferdinand of Arragon removed the only monarch, whose long experience, subtle arts, and numerous resources, Francis had reason to dread. Ferdinand had ever considered his grandson, Charles, archduke of Austria, rather as the rival of, than the successor to, his throne; and his solicitude to have other children by his consort Germana, stimulated him to conjugal exertions, which probably hastened his decease. His death united under one master, the Netherlands and Franche Compté, the kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, and Naples, with the newly discovered treasures of the western world; but that master had scarce yet attained the age of sixteen; his dominions lay distant and disjointed; the people he ruled over, unconnected by laws, by customs, or by language, regarded each other with the eye of jealousy and aversion; and many of the states attached to, and alarmed for their ancient rights and privileges, considered Charles as their most dangerous enemy, and Francis as their most natural ally.

A. D. 1516.

Yet

Yet the king of France permitted the favourable moments to escape him ; and while he foresaw the gathering storm, neglected the measures by which he might probably have averted it ; instead of attacking the infant power of his rival, he suffered it peaceably to attain to maturity, and trusted to the delusive arts of negotiation. Maximilian, who had broken into the Milanese with an army of near forty thousand Germans, was repulsed, and compelled to retire by the inferior forces of France, commanded by the constable Bourbon ; but the same success attended not the invasion of Navarre, a kingdom which had been wrested by Ferdinand from the house of Albret ; Francis, desirous of restoring that family, had furnished the exiled monarch with troops and money ; but John d'Albert was baffled by the vigilance and precautions of cardinal Ximenes, who, drawn from the cloyster, ruled Spain with prudence, firmness, and sagacity. That minister employed the moment of victory to dismantle the towns and castles of Navarre, which slightly fortified, and weakly garrisoned, were unable to resist an enemy ; and served only to furnish him with places of retreat. The capital Pampeluna alone preserved its walls, and was strengthened with additional fortifications. To this decisive measure Spain owes the possession of Navarre ; the French, since that period, have often entered, and over-run the open country ; but destitute of strong towns to retire to, they have been obliged to abandon their conquests, with as much rapidity as they made them.

At the decease of Ferdinand, Charles, his successor, was in Flanders ; and although desirous to take possession of his new dominions, he was detained by powerful obstacles in the Low Countries. The war which had been kindled in Italy, still subsisted ; and with his crown, Charles inherited the enterprises of his grandfather ; but the Flemings were averse to en-
gage

gage in hostilities with France, which might endanger the extensive commerce they carried on; and it was only by a treaty with that kingdom, that Charles could secure himself a safe passage into Spain. Francis, on the other hand, destitute of allies, and solicitous to establish by a peace his late conquests in Italy, listened with joy to the first overtures of accommodation. Commissioners were appointed, and a few days after their opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs.

The principal articles which composed this treaty were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter the princess Louisa, an infant of a year old, and as her dowry, should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples; that, in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay an hundred thousand crowns a year to the king of France; and the half of that sum annually as long as the princess had no children. That when Charles should arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre, for John d'Albret had expired of chagrin, might represent to him their right to that kingdom; and if they obtained not satisfaction, Francis was left at liberty to assist them with his forces.

Such were the conditions of the peace of Noyon; too favourable to France for A. D.
1517, 1518. her king to expect that they would be long observed. Yet they afforded a transient tranquillity to the subjects of these rival monarchs; and the accession of Maximilian to the treaty, hushed the tempest of war which had so long agitated Europe. The satisfaction which the king derived from the late convention was increased by the birth of a dauphin; and the liberality of Francis soon gained to his interests Wolsey, the minister of Henry of England. By the

the influence of his favourite, that monarch was prevailed on to restore Tournay, which he had lately conquered from France ; but to render the measure more palatable to the English, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed ; that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess, and that Francis should pay six hundred thousand crowns for the expences that Henry had been at in repairing the fortifications.

Encouraged by this success, the king of France extended his views to the recovery of Calais ; and it is generally believed that this proposal, extravagant as it was, met with a favourable reception from Wolsey ; but though the minister ventured to suggest the measure to an obsequious council, he found the people too strongly prepossessed against relinquishing the only trophy of their former victories ; he himself soon afterwards gradually declined from the interests of Francis ; greedy of wealth and open to flattery, the same arts as had inclined him to the French monarch, were successfully practised by his rival Charles ; and the king of England, naturally stubborn and imperious, yielded to the ascendancy which his favourite had acquired, and veered with every caprice of the ambitious cardinal.

A. D. 1519. The short calm which Europe had enjoyed, was soon interrupted by an event of little moment in itself, but rendered by its consequences more memorable than any that had happened during several ages. The emperor Maximilian, a prince equally destitute of virtues and abilities, expired at Lintz upon the Danube, while he was employed in attempts to gain the electoral suffrages for his grandson's nomination as king of the Romans. The seven great princes, distinguished by the name of Electors, in whom the right of chusing an emperor had long been vested, turned their eyes towards Frederic

Frederic duke of Saxony, a prince whose prudent administration had acquired him the name of the *Sage*; but Frederic rejected the splendid dignity with magnanimity and disinterestedness. He urged the necessity, at a period when the Turkish armies, led by the victorious Selim the Second, were ready to deluge Germany with their rapacious myriads, of committing the Imperial sceptre to a more powerful arm; and of raising to the throne a prince capable of resisting the impetuous torrent of the Infidels which threatened to overwhelm them.

Two competitors alone presented themselves as equal to the public emergency, Francis and Charles. The former already renowned for his triumph over the Swiss in the battle of Marignano; the latter strongly recommended by the contiguity of his dominions, and by his German extraction. They had both professed, from the beginning, to carry on their rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis, with the vivacity natural to him, declared, "We are both suitors to the same mistress; the more fortunate will carry her, but the other must remain contented;" yet neither neglected any measure that was likely to ensure success. Money was scattered with a profusion that never was known before; and the French ambassadors travelled with a train of horses loaded with treasure. The partiality of the Germans to the house of Austria, with the voice of Frederic of Saxony, decided the important contest; Charles was raised to the Imperial dignity; and Francis, after exhausting his coffers, had the mortification of beholding a young and inexperienced prince preferred to the conqueror of Milan.

Leo the Tenth had observed, with a solicitude worthy of his penetration, the pretensions of the contending monarchs, and jealous of each had secretly, though ineffectually, exhorted the German princes to place one of their own number

A. D. 1520.

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on the Imperial throne. Henry of England, after vainly declaring himself a candidate, had withdrawn from the hopeless contest, and maintained a sullen neutrality during the important competition. But Francis, alarmed at the augmented splendour and power of Charles, and inflamed with indignation which he could no longer suppress, endeavoured, by a strict alliance with Henry, to balance the acquisitions of his rival. Well acquainted with Henry's character, he solicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Henry, fond of pomp and magnificence, cheerfully agreed to the proposal; but while he prepared to cross the seas, he was surprised by the arrival of the emperor at Dover. Charles, informed of the intended interview, endeavoured to disappoint its effects, and previously to engage the favour of the English monarch; in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, he steered directly for England; Henry hastened to receive with every mark of respect, a guest who had shewn so implicit a reliance on his honour. The emperor, to whom time was precious, staid only four days; but in that space he contrived to give the king of England favourable impressions of his character and intentions, and to attach to his interests Wolsey, by gratifying his avarice with a pension of seven thousand ducats, and by flattering the ambitious cardinal with the hopes of the papacy on the death of Leo the Tenth.

On the day of Charles's departure, Henry embarked with the queen and his whole court for Calais, and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers; while Francis, with a similar train, advanced to Ardres, only a few miles distant, and within the English pale. The magnificence which was displayed by two princes equally splendid, profuse, and vain, made the spot on which they met

retain

retain the name, of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold." Banquets, balls, and tournaments, were successively exhibited. The kings themselves, expert and vigorous, bore away in every martial exercise the prize of valour and dexterity. But serious business was not permitted to obtrude upon hours devoted to entertainment; for ten or twelve days this scene of royal dissipation was assiduously pursued; at length the monarchs separated; and Francis might regret a sum lavished in this fruitless pageantry, greater than what Charles had distributed to acquire the imperial crown; who by a second interview with the king of England engaged the confidence of Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and liberal nature of his rival had given birth.

While the king of France laboured to conciliate the regard of Henry, he was not inattentive in courting the support of the Roman pontiff. Though the sagacity of Leo the Tenth enabled him to discern his true interest in preserving the tranquillity of Italy, and the balance of power as it was at length established; yet the prudent neutrality which he ought to have observed, was lost in the indignation with which he beheld the transalpine nations prescribe laws to the Italian states, and in his impatience to distinguish his pontificate by some splendid action. He vainly flattered himself with the idea of alternately assisting each monarch, of finally expelling both, and of acquiring the glory of restoring to Italy the liberty and happiness it enjoyed before the invasion of Charles the Eighth. By the German constitution, the kings of Naples were for ever excluded from the imperial dignity. Charles by his election was declared to have forfeited his right to Naples; and Leo, in the prosecution of his design, undertook to bestow the investiture of that kingdom.

on Henry, the second son of Francis, with whom he contracted a strict though secret alliance.

A. D. 1521.

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles had bound himself to do justice to the family of Albret, which claimed the kingdom of Navarre; but the emperor had received with coldness and eluded every application of that nature; and Francis now prepared to restore by arms that exiled family. The juncture appeared favourable to such an enterprise. Charles had recalled his forces from that part of the kingdom to quell the commotions which had arisen in Spain, and a considerable faction in Navarre was ready to declare for the descendants of their ancient monarchs. To avoid giving offence, if possible, to the emperor or the king of England, Francis levied the forces for this expedition in the name of Henry d'Albret, and entrusted them to Andrew de Foix, a young man without experience or talents, but who was preferred to the command by the influence of his sister, the countess of Chateau-Briant, the favourite mistress of the king. The kingdom of Navarre received the invaders with open arms; the fortifications of Pampeluna were yet unfinished, and a French garrison was admitted within the walls. But Andrew de Foix, instead of securing his conquest, was precipitated by his ardour in search of new acquisitions. With the consent of Francis he passed the confines of Navarre, and invested Logrogno, a small town in Castile. The Castilians, who had hitherto beheld his progress without jealousy or opposition, were roused by this national insult. Their domestic dissensions were extinguished by the appearance of a foreign enemy; and the French general was obliged to abandon his rash enterprise with disgrace. He was pursued by the increasing forces of the Spaniards; and instead of taking shelter under the cannon of Pampeluna, and waiting the arrival of some troops that were marching to join him, he hazarded a decisive

decisive action with a superior enemy. His army was defeated, he himself was taken prisoner, and Navarre by this victory was again restored to the authority of Charles.

The invasion of Navarre had been carried on in the name of Henry d'Albret ; and Francis in attacking another part of his rivals dominions, had recourse to an artifice much of the same kind. He encouraged Robert de la Mark, lord of Bouillon, who had abandoned the service of Charles on account of an encroachment made on his jurisdiction, to declare war against the emperor in form. Robert entered Luxembourg with troops levied in France with the king's connivance, though seemingly in contradiction to his orders. Charles complained of this as a direct violation of the peace subsisting between the two crowns, and summoned Henry the Eighth to turn his arms against Francis as the first aggressor. The French monarch, still desirous of conciliating the inclinations of the king of England, commanded de la Mark to disband his troops ; but the emperor had by this time assembled an army to chastise the insolence of Robert ; the count of Nassau, with twenty thousand men, invaded his territories, and soon dispossessed him of every place except Sedan. Nassau, by the approbation of his master, and encouraged by his success, passed the frontiers of France, and invested Mousson, which soon surrendered ; he next pointed his arms against Mezieres ; but that fortress was defended by the chevalier Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without Fear and without Reproach*. This hero exerted the talents which so eminently distinguished him, in the siege of Mezieres ; and the Imperialists were compelled by his valour and conduct to abandon the siege with a considerable loss.

During these hostile operations, Francis himself had nearly fallen the victim of a singular accident. The martial manners of the age characterised every diversion; and the king, with a small band of gentlemen, attacked with snow-balls, and weapons of that nature, the house of the count de St. Pol, who defended it with another party. A torch from the hand of one of the defendants unfortunately struck Francis on the head, and wounded him severely. His life was long despaired of; and during the cure of the wound, as it became necessary to cut off his hair, he never would suffer it to grow again, but introduced the fashion of wearing it short. Even on this occasion, the magnanimity of his mind was conspicuously displayed; nor would he ever permit any attempt to be made to discover the person who had wounded him.

On his recovery, Francis immediately took the field with a numerous army, retook Mousson, and spread through the Low Countries the terror of his arms. Near Valenciennes, on the banks of the Scheld; he faced the Imperialists headed by Charles himself. The latter, desirous of avoiding an engagement, endeavoured to retreat under cover of a thick fog; the constable Bourbon saw the favourable opportunity, and intreated his sovereign to avail himself of it; but the king, who never loved that noblemair, and was influenced by the resentment which his mother Louisa had conceived against him, rejected his advice. To neglect he added insult, and bestowed the command of the van, which belonged to Bourbon in right of his office of constable, on Charles duke of Alencon, first prince of the blood. Thus to his passions and prejudices Francis sacrificed the opportunity of advantageously engaging his rival in person, and first disgusted a subject whose steady courage and military skill were equal to the most splendid and arduous achievements.

Under

Under the auspices of Henry the Eighth, the negotiations for peace were again resumed, and again abandoned; while Charles invested and reduced Tournay; and Bonnivet, admiral of France, and the acknowledged favourite of his master, invaded Navarre, and possessed himself of Fontarabia. But the emperor found a compensation for this loss in his intrigues with the king of England and the Roman pontiff; Henry agreed to invade France on the side of Picardy with forty thousand men, and to bestow on Charles his only child the princess Mary, the apparent heir of his dominions, while Leo, enticed by the advantages which the emperor offered, readily quitted his alliance with Francis, and concluded a new treaty with his rival. The principal articles were, that the pope and emperor should join their forces to expel the French out of the Milanese, the possession of which should be granted to Francis Sforza, the son of Ludovico the Moor, who had resided at Trent since the time his brother Maximilian had been dispossessed of his dominions by Francis; that Parma and Placentia, which had been wrested from, should be restored to, the church; and that the emperor should assist the pope in conquering Ferrara.

The government of Milan had been committed by Francis, to Odet de Foix, marshal de Lautrec, another brother of the counts de Chateau-Briant. Though by no means destitute of military talents, his imperious manners and rapacious disposition alienated the affections of the Milanese, drove many of the considerable citizens into banishment, and forced others to retire for their own safety. Among the last was Jerome Morone, vice chancellor of Milan, celebrated for his intriguing spirit and subtle genius. He repaired instantly to Francis Sforza, whose brother he had betrayed; and penetrating into the secret intentions of Leo, proposed to the pontiff in the
name

name of Sforza, to surprise several places in the Milanese by means of the exiles. Leo approved the design, and permitted the conspirators to assemble at Reggio, which at that time belonged to the church; marshal de Foix, who commanded at Milan in the absence of his brother Lautrec, informed of their resort, entered the ecclesiastical territories, and invested Reggio; he was compelled to retire by the vigilance and conduct of the governor, the historian Guicciardini, and Leo readily seized the pretence of publicly breaking with France, and excommunicated de Foix as an impious invader of St. Peter's patrimony.

The king of France, apprized of the storm which threatened his Italian dominions, commanded Lautrec to repair to his government, with the assurance that he should be supplied with troops and money. The forces of France were either employed in the Low Countries, or assembling on the frontiers of Spain; and his only resource was in the Swiss, from whom he procured the immediate levy of an additional body. But the money appropriated for their support was intercepted by the rapacity of Louisa, who had conceived an inveterate dislike to Lautrec; twelve thousand Swiss, fatigued with a long and fruitless campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, retired from the standard of France; Milan was betrayed to Colonna, the general of Leo; the other cities of the duchy followed the example of the capital; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state; the town of Cremona, with the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts only remained in the hands of the French; and Lautrec, with the shattered remnant of his army, precipitately retreated towards the Venetian territories.

Leo received the accounts of this rapid success with such transports of joy as brought on a fever, and occasioned his death. By this unexpected accident the

the spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended; the Swiss were recalled by the Cantons; the mercenaries disbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's service, remained to defend the Milanese; but Lautrec himself, equally destitute of men and money, was unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

The intrigues of the conclave were terminated by the election of cardinal Adrian A. D. 1522. of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the emperor's name, and was consequently attached to his interest. The war in the Milanese was resumed with fresh vigour. Lautrec had received from the king a small sum of money, which enabled him once more to take the field; the Swiss, as a reparation to the French king for having unseasonably withdrawn their troops from his army, had permitted him to levy ten thousand men in the republic; but the caprice of this people was often no less fatal to their friends, than their valour was formidable to their enemies. Their seditious murmurs compelled Lautrec to attack the camp of the confederates, advantageously chosen at Bicocca; in vain did that officer remonstrate against the rash enterprise; the Swiss were deaf to reason, and renewed their demand with greater fierceness; Lautrec was reduced to comply; but after an ineffectual display of valour, and the loss of their bravest companions, the Swiss abandoned the hopeless attempt. The survivors next day returned to their own country; the French sought shelter in their own territories; and, except the citadel of Cremona, the rest of the Milanese, by the arms of Colonna, the general of the confederates, was restored to the authority of Francisco Sforza.

The indignation of Francis at beholding himself thus despoiled of his Italian dominions, first burst on the head of Lautrec; that general exculpated himself

self at the expence of Sembleneai, superintendant of the finances, who had with-held, at the command of Louisa, the promised supplies; but the countess of Angoulesme, unawed by the baseness and inhumanity of her conduct, hesitated not to disavow the iniquitous transaction; and the innocent and unfortunate Sembleneai, who had grown grey in the service of four successive monarchs, perished the victim of his sovereign's resentment.

Francis had need of all his magnanimity to oppose the tempest which assailed him on every side. Genoa again threw off the yoke, expelled the adherents of France, and opened her gates to the imperial army. Henry of England openly declared war; and his forces, commanded by the earl of Surrey, landed at Cherbourg in Normandy, ravaged the coasts of that province, and having effected a junction with the Flemish troops, entered Picardy. But the French, though inferior in numbers, baffled by a prudent system of defence, the designs of their adversaries; and Surrey, after several unsuccessful skirmishes, was obliged to retire with his harrassed forces.

The Spaniards, though engaged in domestic dissensions, had diverted a part of their force to the recovery of Fontarabia; that city was however relieved by the mareschal de Chabannes; but the satisfaction which Francis might derive from this event, was more than balanced by the confederacy of his enemies and the desertion of his allies; even the Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to him with firmness, now believed his destruction inevitable, and formed a league with the emperor. Their example was followed by the other Italian states, and the king of France was left alone to repel his numerous adversaries, whose territories encompassed his dominions on every side. Yet roused by the approach of danger, he prepared to encounter it with spirit

spirit and intrepidity ; before his enemies were ready to execute their schemes, he had already assembled a formidable army, and determined to disconcert the designs of the emperor, by marching in person into the Milanese.

The vanguard of his army had already reached Lyons, and he himself was hastening after it, when his intentions were suspended, and his measures broken by the intelligence of domestic conspiracy. Charles duke of Bourbon, and constable of France, from his birth, fortune, and office, might justly be considered as the most powerful subject in that kingdom. He had eminently distinguished himself at the battle of Marignano, and his thirst of glory, and skill in martial exercises, might naturally have recommended him to the favour of a monarch renowned for similar qualities ; but unhappily Louisa, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion to the house of Bourbon ; her prejudices she had communicated to her son ; the duke of Bourbon had been injuriously removed from the government of Milan ; his counsels on the banks of the Scheld had been contumeliously rejected ; and a public affront was offered to him in the presence of the whole army, by depriving him of the command of the vanguard. These repeated indignities had exhausted his patience ; he had already entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor ; when a new and more severe injury inflamed his thirst of revenge, and for ever estranged him from his allegiance to Francis.

Bourbon about this time became a widower by the death of his consort, daughter to the famous lady of Beaujeu. Louisa, without regarding the disparity of age, forgot her former enmity in the violent affection which she conceived for the person of that prince ; but Bourbon rejected her advances with contempt ; and the love of the countess was again converted

converted into implacable hatred. Assisted by Bonivet, who was ambitious to succeed him as constable, and by du Prat, the most corrupt minister that ever held the seals, her persecution became but too successful. A law-suit was commenced against him for the estates that he held in right of his deceased wife; and by a sentence destitute even of the appearance of equity, he was despoiled of the greatest part of his fortune.

Bourbon reduced by this unjust decision to despair, renewed his intrigues in the imperial court. Charles and Henry gladly embraced his alliance, and spared no allurements to confirm him in his resolution. The former offered him in marriage his sister Eleanor, the widow of the king of Portugal; he was considered as a principal in the treaty of the two monarchs: and on the conquest of France, which they had planned, the counties of Province and Dauphine were assigned to him with the title of king. The emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees; and Henry, supported by the Flemings, was to invade Picardy; while Bourbon was to penetrate with an army of Germans into Burgundy, and to act with his adherents in the heart of the kingdom. The plot was deeply laid; and the execution of it was alone suspended until the king should cross the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions.

The rumour of Bourbon's intrigues had already reached the ear of Francis; his suspicions were lulled awhile by the arts of the constable; but by the indiscretion of two of the conspirators, the king was awakened to the certainty of his danger; he immediately determined to secure the person of Bourbon, who, apprized of his intentions, suddenly crossed the Rhone in disguise, eluded the parties sent out to intercept him, and after infinite fatigues and perils, reached Italy in safety.

Though

Though Francis took every precaution to extinguish the sparks of revolt, and garrisoned the places of strength in the constable's territories, yet he made not any particular enquiries after the accomplices of his designs. His own irregularities about this time proved fatal to the life of his consort Claude, an amiable princess, who bore with resignation the neglect of her husband, and with meekness the authority usurped by the countess of Angoulême; Francis himself, though he relinquished his intention of leading in person his army into Italy, did not abandon that expedition, but entrusted the conduct of it to the admiral Bonnivet.

That nobleman engrossed the favour and patronage of his royal master, whom in many points he resembled. Handsome in his person, gallant, and amorous, he was peculiarly acceptable to the countess of Angoulême, under whose protection he rose; but vain, arrogant, and presumptuous, though ambitious of the character of a general, of all the talents requisite for command he possessed only the lowest and most common, personal courage. Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of the Milanese, was compelled to retire before the superior forces of France; the stream of the Tesino opposed an ineffectual obstacle to Bonnivet; the greatest part of the duchy submitted to his arms; had he improved the general consternation, Milan itself must have surrendered; but a delay of three or four days restored the courage of the citizens; and after a vain attempt on the capital, the inclemency of the season induced Bonnivet to retire into winter quarters.

In Burgundy and Guienne, the Germans and Spaniards were repulsed by the duke of Guise and the marshal Lautrec; in Picardy indeed the English extended their devastations along the defenceless banks of the Oyse, penetrated within eleven leagues of Calais, and filled the capital with terror; but their

their terror was checked by the gallantry of the duke of Vendosme; they were continually harrassed by the vigilance of the mareschal la Tremouille; and they were at length pursued with disgrace out of the French territories.

During these operations pope Adrian had expired, and the hopes of Wolsey were blasted by the elevation of the cardinal de Medici, under the name of Clement the Seventh, to the papal dignity; the favourite of Henry now discerned how egregiously he had been duped by the promises of the emperor; and he secretly resolved once more to divert the inclinations of his master towards Francis. That monarch had discovered and disconcerted a dangerous conspiracy; he had driven the author of it into exile; he had baffled the schemes of the powerful confederacy formed against him, and had recovered one half of the duchy of Milan; but the ensuing campaign opened with more disastrous events. Fontarabia was surrendered by the treachery and cowardice of Franget, its governor. A numerous army of the allies threatened that part of the Milanese which had lately been reduced by the French. Bonivert, whose forces had been weakened by a pestilential disorder, was unable to contend with the superior numbers of the enemy, and still less with the superior talents of Bourbon, the marquis of Pescara, and Lannoy viceroy of Naples. These celebrated leaders compelled the admiral to abandon his strong camp at Biagrasa, and pressed on his rear with incessant diligence; in the passage of the river Sessia, while he exerted himself with conspicuous valour, he received a wound in his arm which obliged him to quit the field; he committed the important charge, which he reluctantly deserted, to the chevalier Bayard. That officer animated the cavalry by his example and his presence, to sustain the whole shock of the enemy's troops, while the infantry securely crossed

sed. the river ; but in this service Bayard received a wound, which he immediately perceived to be mortal. Incapable any longer of sitting on horseback, he was placed on the ground, with his face towards the enemy, and his eyes fixed on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross. In this posture, which became him as a soldier and a christian, he addressed his prayers to God, and universally regretted by his countrymen and his foes, he expired, as his ancestors for several generations had done, in the field of battle.

Bonnivet led back his shattered army into France, whose monarch was immediately stripped of all that he had held in Italy. The victors, encouraged by their success, determined to invade the country of Provence. Bourbon, at the head of eighteen thousand men, passed the Alps without opposition ; but his design of penetrating into the interior provinces, and effecting a junction with his remaining adherents, was over-ruled by the authority of Charles, who directed him to make the reduction of Marseilles his chief object. That city was obstinately defended by a veteran garrison ; the king of France himself advanced with a superior force to the relief of it ; and Bourbon, after having consumed forty days in the vain enterprise, retired with precipitation towards Italy.

The glory which Francis had acquired in delivering his subjects from this formidable invasion, might have satisfied a moderate mind ; but that prince, naturally sanguine and impetuous, aspired to the conquest of the Milanese. His love of fame was seconded by a less noble passion ; and Bonnivet is supposed to inflame the desires of his sovereign by his description of a beautiful lady of Milan. In vain did the oldest generals attempt to dissuade their master ; in vain did the counsels of Angoulême conjure him to stop ; Francis was deaf to the counsels of the former ;

former; and to elude the remonstrances of the latter, after appointing her regent in his absence, he began his march across the Alps.

Francis, with an army of forty thousand men, entered, and spread terror through the Milanese; the gates of the capital were immediately opened to him, and Bourbon himself scarce outstripped his pursuit with the remnant of his flying forces. Had the king instantly attacked the enemy, who had retired to Lodi on the Adda, that day might have extinguished the dominion of Charles in Italy; but in compliance with the opinion of Bonnivet, he laid siege to Pavia on the Tefino, a place strong in its fortifications, and garrisoned by six thousand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer equally distinguished by his patient courage and enterprising spirit.

The success of the king of France induced Clement the Seventh to desert the cause of Charles, and court the alliance of his adversary; the example of the pope was followed by the republic of Florence; and the king, inflated by prosperity, detached six thousand men to ravage the kingdom of Naples; but neither this diversion, nor the inclemency of the season, prevented him from incessantly pressing the siege of Pavia. Three months of constant fatigue had reduced the garrison to the last extremity, when they discerned the welcome banners of the imperialists pressing forwards to their relief.

A. D. 1525. The zeal of Bourbon had brought twelve thousand Germans to the assistance of Lannoy and Pescara; yet Francis, patiently in his entrenchments, might have defied the fury of his adversaries; but the rash counsels of Bonnivet stimulated him to the fatal encounter. Part of the left wing, under the command of the duke of Alencon, basely deserted their sovereign; the garrison of Pavia sallied out on his rear; the French cavalry was broke
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by the imperial horse; the route became general; and resistance ceased almost in every part but where the king fought in person. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, he still defended himself with the most heroic courage; and six of his assailants perished by his arm. At length, exhausted with fatigue, he delivered his sword to Lannoy, who received it with respect, and presented to him his own; but though that general treated his royal captive with every mark of honour due to his rank, he was equally solicitous to prevent his escape; and conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the strong castle of Pizzhigintone, near Cremona, where he was committed to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, an officer of severe vigilance and incorruptible integrity.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIV.

Imprisonment of Francis—His release by the Treaty of Madrid—Violation of that Treaty—War between Francis and the Emperor—Revolt of Doria, and Death of Lautrec—Peace of Cambray—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans to Catherine of Medicis—War renewed—Death of the Dauphin—Truce of Nice—Passage of the Emperor through France—War declared again—Final peace at Espernay—Death of Francis.

BY the defeat of Pavia, France was left without a sovereign, without treasures, and without an army. Ten thousand of her bravest soldiers had perished on the bloody field; and the most illustrious of her nobility had sacrificed their lives to preserve their honour. Among these, the least regretted was Bonnivet. His fatal counsels had precipitated the national calamity; his haughty mind scorned to survive the public disaster; and rushing into the thickest ranks of the enemy, he fell covered with honourable wounds.

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The first intelligence of the rout at Pavia was transmitted by the king himself to his mother, in a letter which contained these words: "Madam, all is lost except our honour." The passions of Louisa had endangered the kingdom, but her abilities were exerted to save it. In this trying hour, her magnanimity never deserted her; and instead of giving herself up to the lamentations of a woman, she discovered all the foresight and skill of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by her example and language; she collected the remains of the army which had served in Italy; and enabled it again to take the field; she levied new troops, and raised extraordinary sums to defray the expence of them; but her chief care was directed to conciliate the friendship, and to obtain the protection of the king of England, for himself and

Henry beheld with concern the balance of power, which he had affected to maintain, destroyed by the disastrous field of Pavia; and his minister, Wolsey, remembered with indignation the vain promises of the papacy with which Charles had deluded him. The former trembled for the independence of all Europe, menaced by the rising greatness of an ambitious prince; and he listened with a mixture of admiration and pity to the gallantry of the unfortunate Francis. He secretly assured Louisa of his support, and compelled her to promise that she would not dismember the kingdom, even to procure her son's liberty; but to the emperor he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come of extinguishing the monarchy of France. He secretly offered to invade Guienne with a powerful army; and he demanded that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to surrender

all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded. These extravagant proposals were received by the emperor with the coldness that was expected; and his rejecting them, afforded the king of England soon after a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Meanwhile in Italy the imperial generals were scarce less embarrassed than the foes they had vanquished; Milan was indeed entirely evacuated by the French; but Lannoy, for want of money, was obliged to dismiss the greatest part of his army. Charles himself, instead of making one great effort to penetrate into France, descended to the arts of intrigue and negociation. He ordered the count de Rouex to visit his royal captive, and to propose the following conditions as the price of his liberty. That he should restore Burgundy to the emperor, from whose ancestors it had been wrested; that he should surrender Provence and Dauphine, to form a kingdom for Bourbon; that he should satisfy the claims of the king of England, and finally renounce all claims to any territory in Italy. When Francis heard these rigorous proposals, he was so transported with indignation, that drawing his dagger hastily, he exclaimed, " 'twere better that a king should die thus!" Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though he soon recovered greater composure, he still declared in the most solemn manner, that he would rather remain a prisoner for life, than purchase liberty by such ignominious concessions.

But Lannoy, desirous of conveying his captive safe into Spain, flattered Francis with the hope that a personal interview with the emperor would hasten his deliverance on more equitable terms; and the French king, eager on a scheme which seemed to open some prospect of liberty, furnished the galleys necessary for the voyage, and commanded his admiral Doria to suffer them to pass without opposition. Bourbon
and

and Pescara were deceived by the pretence, that Lannoy meant to transport his prisoner to the castle of Naples; and the latter officer, embarking with the king at Portofiero, landed in a few days at Barcelona. Francis was thence conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar, under the care of the vigilant Alarcon.

But instead of the interview with which he had been flattered, the king of France found himself in a solitary prison, and guarded with unremitting attention; the only recreation that was permitted him, was to take the air on a mule, surrounded by soldiers. The continuance of this harsh treatment for six months threw him into a fever; and the emperor, terrified lest death might deprive him of the advantages which he expected to derive from his release, condescended to make him a consolatory visit, and to animate him with the hopes of speedy freedom. These fallacious expectations vanished with the king's return of health; and Francis in despair entrusted to his sister, the duchess of Alencon, a deed, by which he resigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

The dread of such a measure, and the confederacy which he beheld forming A. D. 1526. against him. The death of the marquis of Pescara, already had allowed Charles to satisfy the claims of Bourbon, by appointing him to the command in Italy, together with the duchy of Milan, forfeited by Sforza; and the subsequent treaty subscribed at Madrid restored liberty to Francis. In respect to the principal article which regarded Burgundy, the French king engaged to restore that country to the emperor in full sovereignty; and Charles consented that this restitution should not be made, until the king was set at liberty; in order to secure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions, Francis agreed that at the same instant he himself was released, he would deliver, as hostages, his eldest son

the dauphin, his second son, the duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of his principal nobility to be named by the emperor. By the other articles, the king of France renounced all pretensions in Italy; disclaimed any title to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; promised full reparation for the damages sustained by Bourbon, or his adherents; and engaged to use his interest with Henry d'Albret to abandon his claim to Navarre. In corroboration of this union, Francis was to marry the emperor's sister, the queen dowager of Portugal; and to be ratified by the states, and registered in the parliaments of his kingdom; that upon the emperor's receiving this ratification, the hostages should be set at liberty; but in their place the duke of Angoulême, the king's third son, should be delivered to Charles to be educated at the imperial court; and that if Francis did not fulfil the stipulations within the time limited, he should engage upon his honour and oath, to return into Spain, and to surrender himself again a prisoner to the emperor.

Such was the tenor of the celebrated treaty of Madrid, by which the emperor flattered himself that he had effectually disarmed his rival; but his ministers had already represented how improbable it was that Francis would execute articles, which he had subscribed with so much reluctance; and the French monarch, while yet at Madrid, assembled the few counsellors that he could confide in; and after exacting from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he formally protested that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void.

Yet both monarchs, amidst their mutual suspicions, maintained the appearance of cordiality; the ceremonies of the marriage between Francis and the queen of Portugal were performed; but Charles would not permit the consummation, until the

turn of the ratification from France. As soon as that arrived, Francis was conducted to the river Bidassoa, near Fontarabia. On the opposite bank were the dauphin Francis, and his brother Henry duke of Orleans, who were to be delivered up as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. The exchange was immediately made; Francis, after a short embrace to his children, leaped into the boat provided, and reached the French shore; he mounted that instant a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and with a joyful voice, crying aloud several times, "I am yet a king," galloped full speed to Saint John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne.

The first care of the French king, on his return to his dominions, was to acknowledge his gratitude to Henry of England; his next was to disavow that article by which Burgundy was to be ceded. In the presence of Lannoy and Alarcon, the ambassadors of Charles, the deputies from that duchy represented that no king could alienate their country from the crown; and Francis, affecting to be convinced by their arguments, offered in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the emperor two millions of crowns. This proposal was rejected; and Francis prepared to extort the acquiescence of his rival by the force of arms.

He had already silently negotiated a confederacy, which promised to set bounds to the ambition of the emperor. The pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, alarmed at the progress of Charles, had readily acceded to it. The king of England was declared protector of this league, which was dignified by the name of *Holy*; and Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, absolved his new ally, Francis, from the oath which he had taken to observe the treaty of Madrid.

But

A. D. 1527. But Sforza duke of Milan was already besieged in the castle of his capital ; and before the duke d'Urbino, the general of the confederates, could advance to his relief, he was compelled to surrender to the arms of Bourbon, who was left in full possession of the duchy, the investiture of which the emperor had promised to grant him ; but the Milanese was exhausted by the incessant wars to which it had been subject ; and Bourbon, to satisfy the murmurs of his discontented soldiers, took the daring resolution of marching to Rome. The greatness of his abilities was displayed in the execution of this design ; in the depth of winter he began his march with an army of twenty-five thousand men, without money, without magazines, and without artillery ; in the face of a superior enemy, he traversed mountains and rivers, and braved the inclemency of the season. He at length encamped under the walls of the devoted city ; but in the moment of victory he fell by a random shot, and expired with the courage which had characterised his life ; yet his victorious army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, entered and pillaged the ancient mistress of the world. Clement, who had retired to the castle of St. Angelo, was forced to capitulate, and remained a prisoner in the hands of the emperor ; Rome itself, abandoned to the rapacity and violence of the conquerors, became a theatre of carnage and universal desolation.

The enterprize of Bourbon against Rome, drained the Milanese of the imperial forces, and left it exposed to the arms of France. Francis, who had hitherto suffered his allies to act alone, and patiently waited the effect of negotiation, now assembled a powerful army, and appointed to the command of it the marechal Lautrec. All Europe had heard with astonishment and horror the cruel treatment of the successor of St. Peter by a christian emperor. The

Italian

Italian states received Lautrec with open arms ; he instantly occupied Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that side of the Tefino. Pavia was taken by assault, and the whole Milanese must have been restored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting the jealousy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome, by the terror of his approach obtained the liberty of Clement the Seventh, and pointed towards Naples the subsequent operations of war.

Animated by the rapid progress of the confederacy, Francis and Henry by their heralds formally denounced war against Charles. The defiance of the latter the emperor received with a decent firmness ; but he vented his indignation against the former by every opprobrious expression ; declared he considered him as a stranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. To this insult Francis returned the lie in form, and challenged his rival to single combat ; Charles readily accepted the challenge ; the difficulties respecting the order of combat, prevented them from actually meeting ; but the example of two such illustrious personages had a considerable influence on the manners of Europe, and sanctioned the practice of duels in private and personal quarrels.

Meantime Lautrec, with unwearied activity, pursued the imperial generals, who A. D. 1528. with the remnant of their licentious army had evacuated Rome. Naples on his approach had thrown off the yoke of Charles, and only Gaieta and the capital remained in the hands of the Spaniards ; Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ablest seaman of his age, and the admiral of Francis, had triumphed over the superior fleet of the emperor ; and every thing seemed to promise Lautrec a certain and speedy conquest.

But

But this flattering prospect was soon blasted by the imprudence of Francis himself; he had neglected to make the proper remittances for the support of the Italian army; and he was prevailed on by the fatal counsels of his ministers, to disgust his admiral Doria; that officer though in the service of France, maintained the spirit of independence natural to a republic, and often preferred his complaints with freedom and boldness. He was peculiarly animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and interest of his country; and he opposed with menaces the design of the French to restore the harbour of Savona, an adjacent town which the Genoese had long regarded with jealousy. Francis, irritated by his contemptuous expressions, commanded him to be instantly arrested; Doria, apprized of his danger, retired with his galleys to a place of safety; entered into a negotiation with the emperor, who granted him whatever terms he required; and sailed back to Naples, not to block up the harbour of that city, but to afford it protection and deliverance.

By the arrival of Doria, the communication with the sea was opened, and plenty restored to Naples; the French in their turn began to suffer from the want of provisions; they were incessantly harassed by the imperialists commanded by the prince of Orange. The ravages of famine were succeeded by those of pestilence; and the unfortunate Lautrec, after long struggling with the difficulties of his situation, expired the victim of disease and disappointment. On his death the command devolved on the marquis of Saluzzo, an officer unequal to the trust; with the remnant of the troops he effected a disorderly retreat to Averfa, where he was soon compelled to capitulate by the prince of Orange; Naples was again evacuated by the French; and the emperor once more acquired the superiority in Italy.

The

The loss of Génoa followed the ruin of the army in Naples. The French garrison in that city was reduced by desertion to an inconsiderable number; and Doria, impatient to deliver his country from the yoke of foreigners, sailed into the harbour, and was received by the acclamations of his fellow citizens; the French for a moment suspended their fate by retiring into the citadel, but they were quickly obliged to surrender; while Doria, instead of usurping the sovereign power, restored the freedom of the republic, established the government nearly the same as it subsists to this day, and has obtained from the gratitude of posterity, the honourable appellation of **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.**

In the Milanese the French were totally defeated by Antonia de Leyva, already renowned for his defence of Pavia; and Francis, discouraged and exhausted by so many enterprises, began seriously to think of peace. The emperor also, alarmed at the progress of the Turkish arms, embarrassed by the growth of Lutheranism in Spain, listened to his proposals. The negociation was conducted by Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, and Louisa the mother of Francis, and from the place where it was concluded obtained the name of the peace of Cambray; the terms were injurious, and even ignominious to France; her monarch, impatient to rescue his sons from captivity, sacrificed every object for which he had commenced the war. Charles for the present indeed was not to demand the restitution of Burgundy, but to reserve his pretensions in full force; Francis, for the ransom of his sons, agreed to pay him two millions of crowns, and to restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese; he renounced his claim to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; he resigned the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and consented immediately

to consummate his marriage with Eleanora, the emperor's sister.

Such were the conditions by which Francis procured liberty to his sons ; but he fatally wounded his reputation by abandoning his allies the Venetians, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara to the mercy of the emperor. Clement the Seventh had indeed previously concluded a separate treaty, and the king of England, eager to obtain from the pope a divorce from Catherine his queen, not only consented to the peace of Cambray, but made Francis a present of a large sum towards the payment of the ransom of his sons.

A. D. 1529, 1534. After the bloody labours of nine successive and destructive campaigns, Francis at length tasted the blessings of peace. The death of his mother Louisa delivered him from a counsellor, whose passions had frequently endangered, whose magnanimity had contributed to protect his kingdom ; but that prince, accustomed to female influence, while he neglected his new consort, had surrendered himself to the charms of mademoiselle de Heilly, duchess d'Estampes. His court during this interval of tranquillity was distinguished by its superior splendour and luxury, by the patronage of letters, and the protection of the liberal arts. But amidst diversions and entertainments the cares of government were still attended to ; by a dexterous application he prevailed on the states of Brittany to abandon their claim of a free and separate principality, and to annex that province for ever to the crown of France. He assiduously cultivated the friendship of the king of England, and a second interview between the two monarchs, at a village equally distant from Calais and Boulogne, displayed every mark of mutual confidence. Yet incapable of abandoning his hopes of the Milanese, he solicited a conference with pope Clement the Seventh ; at Marseilles he embraced

braced the holy father; and to engage him more strenuously in his views on Italy, he demanded and obtained the hand of Catharine of Medicis, the niece of Clement, for his second son Henry; the nuptials were celebrated with uncommon magnificence; but the death of Clement himself only eleven months afterwards, dissipated the expectations which the king had fondly formed from this alliance.

Five years of peace had contributed to heal the wounds of war; and Francois, indignant of the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Cambray, seized the opportunity of his rival's absence, then acquiring laurels, and breaking the chains of the christian captives in Africa, to renew his intrigues in Italy. The execution of Marveille, his agent at Milan, whom Sforza caused to be privately put to death, afforded him a pretence for public hostilities; and the duke of Savoy, by refusing permission to the French troops to pass through Piedmont, drew upon himself the immediate fury of the tempest.

The troops of France, commanded by the admiral Brion, swept the dominions of Savoy; and amidst the storm, the province of Piedmont alone maintained its allegiance to the duke. Francisco Sforza expired with terror at the approach of an enemy by whom he had been twice expelled; and Francis again flattered himself with the vain hope of acquiring the ascendancy in Italy. But this prospect was blasted by the peculiar circumstances of his allies, and by his own imprudence. Paul, who had succeeded Clement in the apostolical chair, seemed determined to maintain a firm neutrality; and the king of England, who had just thrown off the papal supremacy, refused his assistance, unless Francis would imitate his example. Two other alliances naturally presented themselves; the first with sultan Solymán, enraged at the emperor's African expedition; the second

cond with the princes of Germany, who had embraced the tenets of Luther, a native of Eisleben in Saxony; that wonderful man, of vigorous understanding and undaunted disposition, had roused the greater part of Germany to despise the fallacious promises, and to resist the oppressions, of the court of Rome. His doctrines, recommended by truth and novelty, were eagerly embraced; the princes of Germany who had acceded to his opinions, jealous of the designs of Charles, had formed themselves into a confederacy to defend their religious freedom, and had listened with pleasure to the proposal of Francis. But that monarch, by one fatal and inconsistent step, destroyed the fruits of his silent labours; fearful of awaking the indignation of the Roman pontiff, and the prejudices of an age scarce emerging from superstition, by his negotiations with avowed hereticks, and the open enemies of his religion, he seized the first opportunity of demonstrating his unshaken confidence in the doctrines of the established church; six of his subjects who had imbibed the protestant opinions, were publicly burnt; the king himself was present at their execution, and declared with that vehemence which ever distinguished him, that if one of his hands was infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other; and would not spare even his own children if found guilty of that crime. A measure so inhuman for ever sullied the benignity of his general character, and the princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with resentment and indignation at the fate of their brethren, renounced with horror and detestation the alliance of Francis.

A. D. 1536. Yet had that monarch availed himself of the favourable moment, he might have still triumphed over his adversary. The emperor unprepared, was incapable of resisting the torrent or affording the smallest succour to the duke of Savoy. But Francis permitted himself to be duped by the artifices

tifices of his rival. Instead of ordering his army to advance towards Milan, he suffered himself to be amused with specious pretences and professions. Charles had indeed seized that duchy, on the death of Sforza, as a vacant fief of the empire; but while he seemed only solicitous to admit the claim of Francis, in such a form as might not disturb the peace of Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy, his preparations for war were carried on with secrecy and vigour; he at length threw off the mask, declared his sentiments in the most explicit manner, and in the presence of the pope and cardinals reviled the king of France in the most violent and indecent terms.

With an army of forty thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry, Charles entered Piedmont; the forces of France retired before him, and the treachery of the marquis de Saluces, who commanded them, facilitated the progress of the emperor. That nobleman, by a superstitious faith in astrology, and a belief that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand, was induced to desert the cause of his sovereign and benefactor. But Montpezat, the governor of Fossano, by his courage and conduct delayed before that inconsiderable place the imperial army above a month, and allowed his royal master time to prepare for the defence of his kingdom.

Francis had early penetrated into the design of his rival, not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy, but to push forward into the southern provinces of France. He himself was determined to remain on the defensive; without hazarding a battle, to throw garrisons into the towns of the greatest strength; and to deprive the enemy of subsistence by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan he devolved on the marshal of Montmorency; a man haughty and severe; confident in his own abilities, and despising those

those of other men ; and in the prosecution of his schemes alike regardless of love and of pity.

Charles, sanguine and ardent, entered Provence, but was struck with astonishment at the face of desolation which reigned over the whole country. A few defenceless towns immediately submitted to him, but the fields, destitute of cattle and grain, chilled the fire of the invaders ; Montmorency strongly encamped under the walls of Avignon, defied his arms ; and the cities of Marseilles and Arles had been strengthened by new fortifications. Against the former the assaults of the emperor were directed ; for two months the inglorious siege was continued ; famine and disease incessantly prayed upon his troops ; and he at length reluctantly consented to abandon the hopeless enterprise, in which his bravest officers had perished, and his army was reduced to one half of their original number. In his retreat terror and confusion hung upon his rear, and he was only preserved from total destruction by the pertinacious caution of Montmorency, who declared that a bridge of gold should be made for a flying enemy.

On the opposite frontier of France his attempts were equally unsuccessful ; a powerful army from the Low Countries entered Picardy, but was obliged to retire with disgrace from the walls of Peronne ; and Francis by the prudence of his own measures, and the union and valour of his subjects, rendered abortive the formidable schemes of his rival. One circumstance alone embittered his success ; in the midst of the campaign the dauphin had expired ; a prince who extremely resembled his father, and whose sudden death was imputed to poison. His cup bearer was seized on suspicion, and openly accused the imperial generals Gonzaga and Leyva ; but the most unprejudiced historians have rejected the evidence extorted by torture, and have ascribed the premature fate of the dauphin to his having drank too

freely

freely of cold water, after heating himself at tennis.

The next year opened with a scene as singular as it was unworthy the author of A. D. 1537. it. The king of France summoned the emperor as his vassal for the counties of Artois and Flanders, to appear before the parliament of Paris; and on his refusal declared those fiefs forfeited by his contumacy and rebellion. As if to execute this sentence, Francis marched towards the Low Countries, and possessed himself of several towns. These were soon retaken by the superior forces of the Flemings; who in their turn invested Terouanne. The dauphin, and Montmorency, on whom Francis had bestowed the sword of constable, advanced to relieve it; but when they were within a few miles of the enemy, and a battle appeared unavoidable, they were stopt by the intelligence that a suspension of arms was agreed on.

The enmity of both monarchs seems to have exceeded their resources, and their A. D. 1538. coffers were exhausted by their frequent and bloody wars. A truce in the Low Countries for ten months had been extorted by their mutual necessities, and this was soon after extended to Piedmont; Charles dreaded the formidable armaments of Sultan Solymán, with whom Francis had contracted a close alliance; nor was the latter monarch insensible to the infamy which accompanied his confederacy with infidels against a christian king. Though innumerable obstacles opposed a definitive treaty, each prince affected to listen to the exhortations of the Roman pontiff, and Paul at last prevailed on them to suspend their hostile efforts by a truce for ten years.

During these transactions James the fifth, king of Scotland, mindful of the ancient alliances between the two crowns, had fitted out a fleet and army for the assistance of Francis; though contrary winds retarded

tarded his embarkation till the hour of danger was past, Francis rewarded his zeal with the hand of his daughter Magdalen, who accompanied her husband to Scotland, where she soon breathed her last; and James still desirous of cementing his connections with France, shortly after espoused Mary of Guise, widow of the duke of Longueville.

A few days after signing the treaty of Nice, the emperor, in his passage to Barcelona, was driven by contrary winds to the island of St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence. Francis, informed of the accident, invited him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview at Aiguis-mortes. To this Charles consented; and the two rivals, after twenty years open hostilities, vied with each other in expressions of respect and friendship. After the departure of the emperor, Francis, relieved from the concerns of war, amused himself with a journey into Dauphine, and gratified a liberal mind with exploring the secrets of Nature, and patronizing the arts.

A. D. 1539. Far different cares occupied his rival; the citizens of Ghent, animated by remembrance of former freedom, and tenacious of their ancient privileges, had refused to contribute to the support of the late war, and erecting the standard of rebellion, had offered by their deputies to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of France; but that monarch, still flattering himself with the vain hope of obtaining the investiture of Milan from the justice of the emperor, rejected the proposal of the Flemings, and communicated their schemes and intentions to his rival. Charles, though free from any danger on the side of France, was alarmed at the revolt of a people, rich, turbulent, and obstinate. The exigency, he was sensible, demanded his immediate presence, but his dignity allowed him not to pass through Germany without a train of attendants and

and troops that must necessarily have delayed him ; and the voyage by sea was dangerous at that advanced season of the year. In this dilemma, contrary to the opinions of his most experienced counsellors, he resolved, as the shortest way, to demand a passage through the dominions of his rival ; to Francis, he at the same time represented his inclinations to settle the affair of the Milanese to his satisfaction ; but he entreated that he would not exact any new promise from him at this juncture, when it rather might seem to be extorted by necessity, than to flow from friendship, or the love of justice. The French king, open and generous in his disposition, fell into the snare of his artful rival ; he readily assented to all the emperor demanded ; he offered his two sons, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, as security for his person ; and entertained him in his capital for six days with every mark of respect and royal magnificence.

But Charles had no sooner reached his own territories, than the French ambassadors demanded the restitution of the Milanese ; for several months the king of France was deluded by the ambiguous answers and specious delays of his rival. The revolted Flemings were at length completely humbled by their imperial master ; and Charles relinquished the disguise which was no longer necessary to his interest ; he peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, and denied that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so weak and imprudent.

Francis was filled with indignation when he found himself thus egregiously deceived ; A. D. 1540, 1541. the credulous simplicity with which he had trusted his rival, exposed him to the ridicule of Europe. He suspected the treachery of his own servants ; and the persons in the first departments of state were instantly disgraced. Montmorency the constable, Brion the admiral, and Poyet the chancellor,

were the immediate victims of his displeasure. He filled every court in Europe with his negotiations; but Henry of England had lately beheld with suspicion his frequent interviews with the emperor, and his alliance with the king of Scotland; the pope still maintained an impartial neutrality; and sultan Solymán alone embraced his proffered alliance, and declared himself ready to avenge his wrongs. Two of the agents of Francis, as they returned from the Ottoman Porte, were assassinated at the instigation of the marquis del Guasto, governor of the Milanese. The French monarch loudly accused this foul violation of the laws of nations: and demanded the punishment of the atrocious contriver of the guilty deed; his demands were eluded; and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms, that justice which he vainly sought in negotiation.

A. D. 1542. A disease, the effect of his irregular pleasures, precluded Francis from heading his forces in person, but did not impede the vigour of his preparations. His rival was scarce returned from a second and unsuccessful expedition to Africa, before the French monarch invaded his dominions with five formidable armies. Spain, Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont, were the objects of their operations. In the two former countries, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans opened the campaign about the same time. The first laid siege to Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon; the last entered Luxembourg, and reduced the greatest part of the duchy; but on a report that the emperor was advancing to the relief of Perpignan, the duke of Orleans imprudently abandoned his conquests, and hastened to join the army of the dauphin. Charles, however anxious he might be for the fate of that city, determined not to hazard a decisive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the persevering valour of the duke of Alva. The French, after a siege
of

of three months, wasted by diseases, and repulsed in several attacks, abandoned the undertaking, and retired into their own country; their attempts in Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont, were equally unsuccessful; and the mighty preparations of Francis were expended in ineffectual enterprises.

The revolted inhabitants of Rochelle were however reduced by the arms, and pardoned by the clemency, of their sovereign; but the satisfaction which Francis derived from this event, was lost in his public rupture with the king of England. The French monarch, on his side, possessed himself of Luxembourg, and in conjunction with sultan Solymán, laid siege to Nice; but this enterprise proved as unsuccessful as his alliance with the Infidels was esteemed dishonourable; and the rest of the campaign was consumed by all parties in a feeble and desultory war.

The next opened with more vigour; the young count d'Enguien, who revived the memory of Gaston de Foix, penetrated into Piedmont, and defeated in the battle of Cerizoles the imperial general the marquis del Guasto; but his troops were recalled from the pursuit of the victory to oppose a more formidable enemy. Charles and Henry had entered Picardy with two prodigious armies; had they joined their forces and rapidly advanced, Paris must have again acknowledged the dominion of a foreign master; but the former obstinately persevered in the siege of St. Disier, and the latter refused to abandon his attempt on Boulogne, Francis, still oppressed by his disorder, committed his army to the command of the dauphin. St. Disier was at last betrayed to the emperor by an artifice; but the best of his troops had perished in the siege; he, however, entered Champagne, possessed himself of Espernay and Chateau-Thierry, the latter of those not above two days march from Paris, and struck terror

into the luxurious inhabitants of that proud city; but the dauphin at this critical moment threw himself between the forces of Charles and the capital, restored confidence to the Parisians, and harassed by incessant skirmishes the imperial army. Charles, straitened for forage and provisions, listened to terms of accommodation; a definitive treaty was signed at Crespy, by which Francis resigned his acquisitions in Savoy and Piedmont; and the emperor engaged, in the space of two years, to bestow on the duke of Orleans his daughter, or his niece in marriage, with the Low Countries, or the Milanese, in dowry.

A. D. 1545. Before the negotiations at Crespy were concluded, the king of England had reduced Boulogne; and Francis, to recover that important place, advanced with his younger son, the duke of Orleans, to the abbey of Foret-Moutier, between Abbeville and Montreuil. He was here doomed to experience a new affliction by the death of that prince, who expired of a pestilential fever; and Charles immediately declared that by this accident he held himself acquitted from all his agreements relative to the Milanese.

A. D. 1546, 1547. The loss of the duke of Orleans was followed by that of the count d'Enguien, who had acquired an immortal reputation by the victory of Cerizoles; and the death of both these princes impressed Francis with a grief, which even an advantageous peace with England could not mitigate. Though at length finally delivered from the cares of war which had afflicted the greatest part of his reign, the remaining hours of his life were embittered by domestic contention. The enmity and intrigues of his own mistress, the duchess d'Estampes, and of Diana de Poitiers, mistress to the dauphin, divided the court into open and implacable factions; the death of Henry of England, deeply wounded Francis, who had long known and personally loved that

that monarch; his own disorder continually preyed upon him; he wandered from one palace to another, languid and depressed; at length at Rambouillet, with exemplary composure, he closed, in the fifty-third year of his age, a reign of thirty-two years, distinguished by its length, its splendour, and its vicissitudes of fortune. The magnificence which accompanied him through life, deserted him not in death; his funeral obsequies were performed with unusual pomp; and the proclamation which announced his death, displayed his character; "a prince mild in peace, and victorious in war; the father and restorer of learning and the liberal arts."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXV.

Henry the Second succeeds to the Throne—Character of his Mistress Diana de Poitiers—Duel of Jarnac and La Chataigneraie—Mary, the infant Queen of Scotland, is sent to France—War between Henry and the Emperor—Siege of Metz—A Truce concluded—Abdication of the Emperor—War renewed—Italian Expedition—Battle of Saint Quintin—Calais recovered—Battle of Gravelines—Peace signed—Persecution of the Protestants—Death of Henry.

A. D. 1547. **F**RANCE had severely suffered from the liberal spirit and magnificence of her late monarch, and she was now doomed to lament his premature fate by the prodigality of her new sovereign; when Henry the Second ascended the throne of his father, he was in the twenty-eighth year of his age, possessed of the full vigour of body and of mind; handsome in his person; accomplished in the martial exercises of the age; courteous, open, and beneficent. But he neither displayed the capacity or discernment

cernment which distinguished Francis; and naturally tractable and yielding to others, he was formed to be under the guidance of favourites.

The dying injunctions of his father had exhorted him never to recall the constable Montmorency, and to repress the dangerous ambition of the house of Guise; but the former was loaded with honours, and the latter entrusted with the confidence of Henry; while only duke of Orleans, the king, at the early age of thirteen, had espoused Catherine of Medicis; that princess had a few years since brought him a son, who was named Francis; but those seducing arts for which she was afterwards so eminent, seem not to have affected the mind of her husband, who professed himself the willing slave of Diana de Poitiers, duchess de Valentinois.

This extraordinary woman, who ruled with absolute sway over her lover, had with undiminished beauty reached the autumn of life, and at the age of forty-eight, beheld a great and youthful monarch sighing at her feet. Her father, John de Poitiers, seigneur de St. Valier, had been degraded from the rank of nobility, and his estates confiscated, as an accomplice in the revolt of Bourbon. She herself, in the last year of Louis the Twelfth's reign, had married Breze, count de Maulevrier, by whom she had two daughters then alive. Before Henry had completed his eighteenth year, her ascendancy over him was established; a warm friend, but implacable enemy; fond of power, but yet more so of flattery; of high and magnanimous spirit, she impelled her royal lover to actions of vigour and firmness.

Francis de Vivonne la Chataigneraie, had impeached the fidelity of her rival, the duchess d'Estampes, and accused her during the late king's illness of an amorous commerce with Guy Chabot seigneur de Jarnac. The latter denied the charge; and Henry, with his court,

court, was present at the duel which was fought in the forms of chivalry, at St. Germain en Laye. La Chataigneraie was the favourite of the king, in the vigour of his age, and celebrated for his address in martial exercises; Jarnac was far advanced into the vale of years, and a fever had diminished even his usual strength and activity; yet the former was thrown from his horse, and wounded in the thigh. Indignant at the triumph of his adversary, he tore the dressings from his wound, and soon afterwards expired. Henry himself was so deeply affected by this unexpected catastrophe; that he made a solemn vow never to suffer another combat of the kind on any pretence whatsoever.

A. D. 1548. James the Fifth, king of Scotland, had expired, left his crown to his infant and only daughter Mary; the ministers of England endeavoured by arms to extort the hand of that princess for their youthful monarch Edward the Sixth. To the support of his ancient allies, the king of France detached six thousand men; the Scotch, grateful for these succours, and inflamed with hereditary hatred to the English, entrusted their queen to the French admiral Villegaignon; who landed her safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon afterwards betrothed to the dauphin.

A. D. 1549. Henry himself was at this time particularly engaged with a dangerous sedition which broke out in Guienne; to repress the unbridled fury of the people, the constable Montmorency, and the duke of Guise, were commissioned to enter that province; the former marked his course with blood, and distinguished himself by exemplary severity; the latter reclaimed the insurgents by his conciliating address and lenient measures. The popularity he acquired by his clemency laid the foundation of the future greatness of his family, and supported by the affections of the people, enabled it to vie with

with the power of the throne. Henry himself though humane and generous, was tinged with the mistaken piety and intemperate zeal of the age; and a number of profelytes to the doctrines of Calvin and Luther were publicly and solemnly burnt, by the command, and in the presence of a sovereign, cruel only in his religion.

The recovery of Boulogne was an object of the highest importance to the interest and honour of France; the English councils were weak and divided, and the feuds which commonly distract a minority, raged with uncontrolled violence. The ministers of Edward the Sixth readily listened to the proposals of Henry, who offered four hundred thousand crowns for the immediate restitution of Boulogne. The sum proposed was accepted; and the peace which was negotiated between the two kingdoms, was extended also to Scotland.

Henry thus delivered from all dread of England, was at leisure to employ his thoughts in schemes for curbing the power of the emperor Charles, the constant rival of his grandeur. He had only protested against the treaty of Crespy, as injurious to the interest of the crown, and only calculated to aggrandize his younger brother the duke of Orleans, who soon after expired. He now resumed his hopes of Italian conquests; and that country was again menaced with indications of approaching hostilities. Julius the Third, who had succeeded Paul in the apostolical throne, had taken up arms to dispossess the grandsons of the late pontiff of the duchy of Parma; these claimed and obtained the protection of Henry; while the pope, sensible that he alone could not expect to reduce Octavio Farnese, supported by the king of France, had instantly recourse to the emperor. Charles ordered Gonzaga to second Julius with all his troops; Henry directed the mareschal Brissac to enter Piedmont, and to sustain the duke of Parma; in the name of their respective allies

allies the French and imperialists took the field ; while their sovereigns affected inviolably to maintain the peace of Crespy, the former ravaged part of the ecclesiastical territories ; the latter penetrated to the gates of Parma ; but they were obliged to relinquish the siege of that city with disgrace.

But Henry soon laid aside the veil which he had hitherto worn, and acted openly and avowedly against his rival. The league of Smalkalde, which had been formed by the protestant princes of Germany in defence of their religious principles, had been broken by the superior vigour and sagacity of the emperor ; but his victory had inspired him with presumptuous confidence ; he had arbitrarily deposed the elector of Saxony, imprisoned the landgrave of Hesse, and daringly infringed the rights and constitutions of the Germanic body. Maurice duke of Saxony, cousin to the elector, and a protestant prince himself, had in the pursuit of his own interest seconded the designs, and acquired the favour of Charles ; but he was no sooner invested with the spoils of his degraded kinsman, than he resolved to rescue them from the caprice of a master whom he dreaded, and more firmly to establish a religion, the exercise of which he had contributed to restrain. In the execution of this enterprise, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy which deceived the most artful prince in Europe ; and while he appeared the obsequious servant of imperial power, he insinuated himself into the confidence, and attained an unequalled ascendancy over the minds of those whom he had lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. He secretly negociated a new confederacy of the protestants, of which he was appointed the head ; and he earnestly courted the assistance of Henry to oppose the despotism which Charles laboured to establish.

The

The king of France nursed the hopes of the confederates with men and money and at the moment that Maurice unfurled the standard of civil and religious freedom, he himself deluged Lorraine with his forces, seized the person of the young duke Charles, the nephew of the emperor, and planted the banners of France on the cities of Metz, Verdun, and Toulon; while on the other side Charles, who had so lately aspired to the dominion of Europe, with a feeble train, and under cover of the night, was compelled to evacuate Inspruck, and hastily fled before the arms of Maurice to Villach, in Corinthia, on the frontier of the Venetian territories. Surprised and abandoned, he signed a treaty at Passau, which for ever secured the ecclesiastical and civil independence of the German princes; who, attentive alone to their own concerns, scarce seemed to remember how much they were indebted for their success to Henry, and made a merit to their sovereign of abandoning their ally to his resentment.

The perfidy of the German princes was in some measure justified by the rapacity of the king of France. He endeavoured to possess himself by an artifice of the city of Strasburgh, which commanded the navigation of the Rhine; but the powerful mediation of the princes of Germany and the Swiss compelled him to desist; and he was soon recalled to provide for the safety of his own dominions. Charles prepared, with the forces which he had assembled to encounter the confederates, to recover the three towns of which Henry had made himself master; with an army of sixty thousand men he directed his march along the banks of the Rhine, and in the month of October, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, he formed the siege of Metz.

The king of France had early penetrated into his intentions; he provided with alacrity and vigour for the

defence of his new acquisitions; and nominated to the command of Metz, Francis of Lorraine duke of Guise. That nobleman possessed all the talents of courage, sagacity, and presence of mind, which eminently fitted him for so important a trust. Ambitious of fame by splendid and daring achievements, he repaired with joy to the dangerous station that was assigned him. He diligently repaired the old fortifications, and skilfully executed new ones; he destroyed the suburbs which might favour the approaches of the enemy; he wasted the country for several miles round from whence they hoped to draw their subsistence. He filled the magazines with provisions and military stores; and urged the labours of his soldiers by the cheerfulness with which he submitted to share their toils and partake of their fatigues.

His efforts and ardour were seconded by the inclemencies of the season; the winter set in with unusual rigour: in little more than a month from the commencement of the siege, the camp of the imperialists was alternately deluged with rain or covered with snow; the Spaniards and Italians, accustomed to more genial climates, sunk the victims of cold and disease; the troops throughout, torpid and dispirited, were no longer to be animated by the voice of their leaders; when commanded to advance to the breaches, they stood motionless in dejected silence; and the indignant emperor retired to his tent complaining that he was deserted by his soldiers, who no longer deserved the name of men. Yet Charles, ever haughty and inflexible, maintained his station when even hope had forsaken him; and it was not till his army was reduced to half of its original number, that he consented to relinquish the fruitless enterprise.

A. D. 1553. Necessity at length compelled him to begin his retreat towards Germany, and he directed his tumultuous flight across the Alps. Shame and terror hung upon his rear; and his fainting steps were

were traced by the sick, the wounded, and the dead. The generous enmity of the duke of Guise was vanquished by the scene of imperial misery; and he scorned to triumph over a foe no longer capable of resistance; his care and liberality were exerted to heal the wounded, and to restore the famished; and the courage which he had displayed in the siege, was exceeded by the humanity which he exercised in the pursuit.

In Italy the Sienese threw off the imperial yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of France; while Solymán, the powerful, but dishonourable ally of Henry, filled the Mediterranean with his fleets, and struck terror through the city of Naples. Had the operations of the Ottomans been seconded by the armaments of Henry, Naples must once more have acknowledged the dominion of a French master; but the Turks hearing no tidings from their ally, sailed again to Constantinople; and the attention of Henry was diverted from foreign conquests to the protection of his own dominions.

Impatient to efface the ignominious repulse at Metz, Charles entered France, and poured the tempest of his arms on Terouanne; D'Esse, a veteran officer who commanded in that city, was killed; the imperialists pressed the siege with vigour and perseverance; and the place was taken by assault. Charles ordered the fortifications to be rased, and the inhabitants to be dispersed in the adjacent towns. The army, under the command of Emanuel Philibert, the young duke of Savoy, who already began to display those talents for which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished, moved next to the siege of Hesdin. Its walls, though defended with bravery, could not long withstand the ardour of the assailants; and Henry himself in person, with a numerous army, advanced to check the formidable progress of his enemy.

The

The appearance of such an antagonist, roused the emperor from the bed of sickness; he quitted Brussels in a litter, and arrived in his camp, though debilitated in his body, yet firm and undaunted in mind; but his prudence suffered him not to hazard the fate of the war in a decisive action; and the king of France, after having in vain endeavoured to compel his rival to an engagement, by threatening the siege of Cambray, and embarrassed by the indisposition of the constable Montmorency, on whose military experience he chiefly relied, retired without performing any thing worthy the greatness of his preparations.

A. D. 1554. But Charles, still anxious to aggrandize his family, conceived a new project, which he pursued with the utmost ardour, and accomplished with the most happy success. Edward the Sixth of England had expired after a short reign; and his crown devolved on his sister Mary, whose hand the emperor demanded, and obtained for his son Philip. This accession to the influence and power of the house of Austria, served to increase the jealousy without intimidating the king of France. He determined to carry on the war both in Italy and the Low Countries with additional vigour; and to compel Charles to accept an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the continent. With three great armies he ravaged Hainault, Liege, and Artois, reduced Mariembourg, took Bouvines and Dinant by assault, and invested Renti. The emperor, though broken by years, fatigue, and indisposition, marched to the relief of that place. An obstinate skirmish ensued, in which the imperial army was worsted with a considerable loss of men and artillery; and had the efforts of the duke of Guise been seconded by the constable Montmorency, the rout of the enemy must have been complete; but the jealousy of those commanders proved fatal to the glory of their country; the French them-

themselves were soon after compelled to retire for want of provisions; and Charles, after their retreat, entering Picardy, extended his devastations over that province, and revenged the ravages committed in Hainault and Artois.

In Italy the French were more unfortunate than in Flanders. Strozzi, a Florentine exile, who commanded in that country, was defeated, with the loss of four thousand men, by the marquis of Marignano general to Cosmo de Medicis. The siege of Sienna was instantly formed by the victor; the fate of that city was protracted for some months by the valour of Monluc, who commanded the French garrison; but the Sienese, superior to the force of arms, were incapable of resisting the assaults of famine; the terms they obtained were however honourable; and Monluc, with the French troops, were allowed to march out with all the honours of war; but the marshal of Brissac, in Piedmont, supported the glory of his country, and justified the choice of his prince; though his troops were inferior to those of the imperialists, he not only baffled the attempts of the duke of Alva, who, with his usual arrogance, had boasted that he would soon drive him beyond the mountains, but even extended his incursions into that part of the country, which hitherto the emperor had preserved; and would probably have rendered more important services to his country, had not the necessary supplies for his support, been intercepted by the jealousy of the Guises and the constable Montmorency.

On the death of Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, the king of France was desirous of annexing Bearn, and the small remnant of that prince's territories, to his own dominions; but Anthony, duke of Vendosme, who had married Jane, the heiress of d'Albret, by his diligence secured the royal inheritance which descended to him; and rejected the threats and promises of Henry, who alternately

A. D. 1555.

nately menaced him with the weight of his arms, and tempted him with liberal offers of compensation.

The emperor, broken by infirmities, had renewed his negotiations for peace. He had flattered himself with the hope of obtaining possession of Metz by the treachery of a monk, guardian to a convent of Franciscans; but the conspiracy was detected; the imperialists detached for the enterprise were defeated with slaughter; and the monk with his confederates suffered the just punishment of their treason. Charles, mortified at the decline of his military glory, and oppressed by age and disease, received an additional disappointment in the death of pope Julius the Third, and the election of cardinal Caraffa to the vacant dignity; the new pontiff who assumed the name of Paul the Fourth, demanded the protection of France, offered the investiture of Naples to her king, and endeavoured to negotiate a strict alliance with him for their mutual advantage. Henry listened with pleasure to proposals which flattered his ambition with the hope of once more acquiring the ascendancy in Italy; and the cardinal of Lorraine was dispatched to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert measures for carrying it into execution.

So many unfavourable circumstances combining with a shattered constitution, determined the emperor to retire from the cares of public life, before his reputation was entirely overwhelmed by the tempest which he beheld gathering round him. By resigning his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, he in some measure disarmed the jealousy of France; and delivered himself from a burthen, which his waning strength was no longer capable of supporting with proper dignity. At Brussels this extraordinary renunciation was made; and Charles only retained for himself

himself the imperial dignity, which in about a year afterwards he relinquished to his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans.

Henry, indulgent to his passions, and to the profusion of his mistress, had been obliged to load his subjects with new imposts, to defray the expences of war and the magnificence of his court. The emperor, solicitous to procure an interval of tranquillity, that his son might establish himself firmly on the throne, was ready to listen to any terms of accommodation. The various claims of the rival monarchs rendered it difficult to conclude a solid peace; but an expedient was proposed of terminating their hostilities by a long truce, which, without discussing their different pretensions, allowed each to retain what was in his possession. Henry, in accepting these favourable conditions, which left him in quiet enjoyment of the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions, with his important acquisitions on the German frontier, was only embarrassed by his late engagements with the pope; these he however was persuaded by the constable Montmorency to sacrifice to the interests of his kingdom; but he carefully stipulated, that in the truce, which was signed for five years, the Roman pontiff should be expressly included.

Paul received the intelligence of the late negotiation with terror and astonishment; he beheld himself forsaken by the ally on whom he depended, and exposed to the resentment of an adversary whom he dreaded. The duke of Alva was already encamped on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical territories; and the pope, to avert the immediate danger, had recourse to those arts for which the court of Rome was so eminently distinguished. Under pretence of mediating a definitive peace between the rival princes, cardinal Rebiba was dispatched to Brussels, and the nephew of the pontiff, cardinal Caraffa, to Paris.

The former was secretly instructed to protract his negotiation as long as possible ; while the latter was directed to press the French king to renounce the treaty of truce, and to resume his engagements with the holy see. By presents and flattery Caraffa gained the suffrages of Catherine of Medicis, and Diana Poitiers. Henry was incapable of resisting the importunities of his consort and mistress, seconded by the ardour of the duke of Guise, and the eloquence of his brother the cardinal of Lorraine. His own genius, warlike and enterprising, corresponded with their inclinations ; and he signed a new league with the pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy, and the Low Countries.

Philip, in his dispute with the successor of St. Peter, though naturally haughty and inflexible, had discovered uncommon moderation. His early years had been entrusted to the care of Spanish ecclesiastics, and in a more mature age he retained that veneration for the holy see which they had sedulously inculcated. But with every appearance of hesitation the pontiff's arrogance had increased, and at length the duke of Alva was commanded to enter the ecclesiastical territories. The light troops of the Spaniards soon penetrated to the very gates of Rome, and Paul, yielding to the fears and solicitations of the cardinals, proposed a cessation of arms. Alva, sensible how desirous his master was of terminating a war which he had undertaken with infinite reluctance, closed with the overtures ; and consented first to a truce for ten, and afterwards for forty days.

A. D. 1557. In the mean time the duke of Guise passed the Alps with an army of twenty thousand men, and the flower of the French nobility ; whom the splendour of his character, and his reputation for courtesy, courage, and liberality, allured to follow his standard. Paul on his approach assumed his former arrogance, and banished from his mind

mind all thoughts but those of war and revenge, while the Spaniards retired toward the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom. Yet though the pope was animated with the strongest resentment against Philip, he neglected the necessary means to ensure the gratification of it; neither the pecuniary or military aids which he had engaged to furnish, were ready; the Italian states either preserved a strict neutrality, or were openly united with Philip. The duke of Guise soon perceived that his hopes of success must entirely depend upon himself. He was repulsed from the walls of Civitella, a town on the Neapolitan frontiers; his army was wasted by sickness, and harassed by fruitless marches; while the Spaniards again extended their devastations over the patrimony of St. Peter, he was compelled to return to Rome for the protection of the holy father. With a weak and impatient ally, with a broken and desponding army, he confined his operations to the defence of the capital; and the flattering vision of Italian conquests was gradually banished from his mind.

Philip had received with indignation the intelligence of Henry's designs to violate the recent truce. He directed his arms against the frontier towns of Flanders, exposed by the expedition against Italy. He persuaded his consort, the queen of England, to enter into his views; her violent affection for Philip excited her to surmount the reluctance of her subjects, and to declare war against France; Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, was entrusted with the command of the main army; the zeal of the Flemings was displayed in seconding the designs of their new sovereign; and while Philip himself fixed his quarters at Cambray, the duke of Savoy, after alarming France on the side of Champagne, advanced by rapid marches, and invested St. Quintin in Picardy.

The garrison of that town had been weakened by detachments sent towards Champagne, and scarce amounted to one fifth of the number requisite for its defence. The fortifications had been neglected ; and the besiegers were stimulated by the importance of acquiring a town, which opened to them a direct road to Paris. A few days must have crowned their efforts with success, if admiral de Coligny, considering his honour concerned to preserve a place within his jurisdiction, had not thrown himself into the town with a gallant band of followers, and by his skill and determined valour at least deferred its fate.

The voice of glory and interest called upon Henry to save a town, the loss of which would open a passage for the enemy into the heart of France. The forces he could hastily assemble, he confided to the experience of the constable Montmorency, whose natural caution was vanquished by his desire to extricate his nephew Coligny from his dangerous situation. With this view he approached the camp of the enemy, while d'Andelot, the brother of Coligny, with five hundred adventurous followers, forced his entrance into the town.

But in the execution of this design, Montmorency had drawn too near the entrenchments of the besiegers to escape with impunity from so active and vigilant a commander as the duke of Savoy. He had scarce began to retire, before he was pressed by the superior numbers of the enemy. The ranks of the French were broken by the furious charge of count Egmont at the head of the cavalry, and their boasted men at arms sought shelter in a precipitate flight. Abandoned by the horse, the foot were not able much longer to sustain the unequal conflict ; above four thousand perished on the field ; and the constable, after defending himself with the most heroic courage, and receiving a dangerous wound, was made prisoner,

prisoner, with the dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, and the mareschal St. Andre.

The defeat of St. Quintin scarce diffused less consternation throughout France than the fatal battles of Crecy and Azincourt; the trembling inhabitants of Paris prepared to quit a capital which they hourly expected would be insulted by the presence of the enemy; amidst the general dismay, Henry alone preserved an undaunted countenance; he instantly recalled the duke of Guise from Italy; he solicited the assistance of the grand signior, and he incited the Scots to invade the north of England, and distract the attention of Mary. A more immediate recourse was found in commanding the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces immediately to take the field; but all these precautions and efforts would have proved vain, had Philip listened to the advice of the duke of Savoy, to relinquish the siege of St. Quintin, and march directly towards Paris; that monarch, naturally cautious, was afraid of committing his forces in the heart of France without a single place to retreat to, he advised therefore to continue the siege of St. Quintin; and his generals the more readily acquiesced in his opinion, as they imagined the town could not hold out many hours; but the courage of Coligny rose in proportion to the exigency and danger. Fruitful in resources, each moment seemed to display some new expedient; for seventeen days he baffled the repeated assaults of the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the English; at length all opposition was overwhelmed by their superior numbers, and Coligny himself was taken prisoner on the breach.

But Henry had availed himself with the utmost activity of the interval afforded by the admiral's obstinate resistance. The duke of Guise rapidly advanced from Italy to check the progress of Philip; he was received in France as the guardian angel of that kingdom; and the confidence which the king reposed in him, was justified by his zeal and enterprising spirit.

The

The army with which he returned was joined by new levies, and swelled by reinforcements from Germany and Switzerland. Its numbers, and the reputation of its general, made Philip tremble for his new conquests; when the duke of Guise suddenly turned, from menacing the frontier towns of Flanders, to undertake a more arduous and important enterprise.

A. D. 1586. Calais had been taken by the English under Edward the Third, and was the only place they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France. But Mary and her ministers, from an injudicious oeconomy, had neglected the works, and dismissed the greater part of the garrison. The duke of Guise was apprised of these circumstances, and the rigour of winter did not deter him from the daring design; he suddenly invested the town, drove the English from the forts which protected it, and in eight days restored Calais to the dominion of the French, after it had been subject to England for two hundred and ten years. Henry imitated on this occasion the policy of its former conqueror; he carefully expelled the English inhabitants, and new peopled the town with his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by various immunities.

On the retreat of the duke of Guise, the pope had indeed signed a treaty of peace, and reconciled himself to Philip; but Henry found sufficient consolation for this desertion in the marriage of the dauphin to queen Mary of Scotland; that princess had been long since affianced to Francis, and the nuptials were now celebrated with unusual splendour. But the Scots in the articles of marriage took every precaution that prudence could dictate to preserve the liberty and independence of their country.

With

With the return of spring, the contending armies renewed their operations; the duke of Guise invested, and reduced after a siege of three weeks, Thionville in the duchy of Luxembourg. But this acquisition was more than counterbalanced by an event that had happened in another part of the Low Countries. The marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, had penetrated into Flanders, stormed Dunkirk, and advanced to Nieuport, when his career was checked by the approach of the count of Egmont, with a superior force. De Termes, encumbered with his spoils, endeavoured to retreat, but he was overtaken by the rapidity of the count, and compelled to engage near Gravelines. The desperate valour of the French held victory for some time in suspense; when a squadron of English ships, drawn to the coast by the firing, entered the Aa, and turned their guns upon the right wing of the army of de Termes; the spirits of the Flemings revived with this assistance, and the rout of the French became universal. Two thousand were killed on the spot; a greater number in their flight perished by the hands of the enraged peasantry; and the marechal de Termes, with many officers of distinction, were taken prisoners.

The duke of Guise, on intelligence of this disaster, relinquished all other schemes, and hastened to the defence of the frontier of Picardy, while the duke of Savoy affected a junction with the forces of the count of Egmont. Each monarch placed himself at the head of his respective army, and as they were now only separated by a few leagues, it was hourly expected that a decisive action would determine the fortune of the royal rivals. Yet both Philip and Henry continued carefully to fortify their camps, and discovered by their inaction their inclinations for peace. For half a century their
kingdoms

A. D.
1558, 1559.

kingdoms had been mutually exhausted by the operations of war. The former was impatient to visit Spain; the latter was influenced by the passions of the dukes of Valentinois, who regarded with disgust the haughtiness of the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, and was inclined to thwart their measures and obstruct their glory. By her persuasion, Montmorency, still a prisoner, and eager to regain his liberty, was entrusted with the delicate negotiations; Philip readily listened to his proposals; a definitive treaty was signed at Cateau in Cambresis; the duke of Savoy recovered the territories which France had wrested from him in Piedmont, Savoy, and Bresse. Corsica was ceded to the Genoese; but Hesdin, Catalet, and Noyon, were restored to the French, who also retained Calais, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The death of Mary had dissolved the connections of Philip with England; and by a separate treaty with her successor Elizabeth, Henry engaged at the end of eight years to deliver up Calais, or to forfeit the sum of five hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1559. The duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, arraigned the late treaty in the most open manner, as humiliating and disgraceful to France. But their influence expired on the return of Montmorency; and the constable supported by the dukes of Valentinois, resumed his former ascendancy over the mind of his royal master. Henry himself had closed with the overtures of peace, that he might the more effectually repress the religious opinions of the reformers, which were spreading with rapidity throughout his dominions. D'Andelot, the brother of Coligny, and the nephew of the constable, was justly accused as a proselyte to the doctrines of Calvin. In the presence of his sovereign he presumed to acknowledge his sentiments; he was imme-

immediately deprived of his post of general of the French infantry, committed to close confinement, and only restored by submission, and the entreaties of his uncle. Throughout the capital, and the different provinces, the severest penalties were denounced against the professors of Lutheranism, five of the most obstinate were sent to the Bastile, and orders were issued for their immediate and rigorous prosecution.

The active zeal of a monarch, in the vigour of his age, and neither destitute of capacity or firmness, might perhaps have vanquished the scruples of his subjects, and preserved his kingdom from the calamities of civil commotion, inflamed by religious rancour; but the designs of Henry, and the hopes of the established church, were extinguished by a fatal and unexpected accident. Emanuel duke of Savoy had arrived at Paris, to be present at the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, who by an article of the late treaty was affianced to the king of Spain, and whose nuptials were celebrated at Paris by proxy, with martial magnificence. Jousts and tournaments had on this occasion been proclaimed by Henry, who excelled in every personal accomplishment; he had already given signal proofs of his prowess, when on the last day he was desirous of breaking a lance against Gabriel de Lorges, count de Montgomery, at the command of his sovereign, entered the lists with avowed reluctance. The shock was rude on both sides, but the count's lance breaking against the king's helmet, he attacked Henry with the stump; it entered the eye brow of his right eye, and the monarch bereaved of speech and understanding fell instantly to the ground. He was conveyed to his palace, and after remaining in a state of insensibility for eleven days, expired in
the

the sixteenth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his age; leaving by his wife Catherine of Medicis seven children, the eldest of whom Francis the Second, was only entered into his seventeenth year.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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